



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

**Calvin's Critique of the Papacy:
A Historical and Theological Study**

By

Darren Chung Keung Fung (馮忠強)

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

2003



'Today, when we see man's foolish boldness in setting himself against God, let us strengthen ourselves against this, so that we will not be taken by surprise. We need to be sure of the cause which we uphold and for which we must fight. Let us rigorously despise *that pestilential den containing the Pope and all his clergy*. May such stinking vermin be nothing to us, *since they exalt themselves above the Lord Jesus Christ*. Indeed, though they use his name and seek to hide their mischief behind it, in his name, *they actually tread his gospel under foot, and even seek to bury it*. Or they create such a confusing mixture of truth and error that no one knows what is right. Seeing that they are thus possessed by the devil, *let us not be afraid to arm ourselves for the battle and to fight to the end*. Indeed, of all causes for battle, ours seems more favourable even than Paul's must have seemed in his day.'

— John Calvin's *Sermon on the Galatians* Sermon 10 (Gal. 2: 11-14)

'It is our most imperious duty to strive that *the reign of the Son of God, true religion* and the *pure doctrine of salvation*, which are things more precious than the whole world, should be completely re-established.'

—John Calvin writing to the King of Navarre, 16 January 1561

'But now the Son of God *should alone stand as head*, all others being brought into the rank of members.'

—John Calvin writing to the King of Poland, 5 December 1554

Table of Contents

DECLARATION.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
ABBREVIATIONS	vi
ABSTRACT	x
 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	 1
1.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS	1
1.2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.....	2
1.3. STATE OF RESEARCH.....	3
1.4. APPROACH OF THE STUDY	23
 CHAPTER TWO: LATENT CONFLICTS: EARLY CONCERNS.....	 26
2.1. INTRODUCTION	26
2.2. CALVIN'S PREFACES TO OLIVÉTAN'S FRENCH BIBLE (1535).....	26
2.2.1. <i>The Latin Preface</i>	27
2.2.2. <i>The French Preface</i>	29
2.3. THE 1536 <i>INSTITUTIO</i>	31
2.3.1. <i>Erroneous Doctrines and Ecclesiastical Structures</i>	32
2.3.2. <i>The Church as Elect Vs Papal Hierarchy</i>	33
2.3.3. <i>The Pope's Abuse of Power</i>	35
2.4. THE LAUSANNE DISPUTATION (1536).....	37
2.4.1. <i>The First Discourse</i>	39
2.4.2. <i>The Second Discourse</i>	40
2.5. THE <i>EPISTOLAE DUAE</i> (1537).....	41
2.5.1. <i>Letter to Nicolas Duchemin: Nicodemism and the Papacy</i>	42
2.5.2. <i>Letter to Gérard Roussel: Episcopal Responsibility under the Papacy</i>	44
2.6. <i>ARTICLES CONCERNANT L'ORGANISATION DE L'ÉGLISE ET DU CULTE À GENÈVE</i> (1537).....	47
2.6.1. <i>Papal Excommunication Corrected</i>	47
2.6.2. <i>The Kingdom of the Pope Vs the Kingdom of Christ</i>	47
2.6.3. <i>The Singing of the Psalms</i>	48
2.6.4. <i>Papal Marriage Laws Corrected</i>	48
2.7. <i>INSTRUCTION ET CONFESSION DE FOY</i> (1537).....	49
2.8. CONCLUSION.....	50
 CHAPTER THREE: CONFLICTS PROVOKED: EMERGING THEMES.....	 52
3.1. INTRODUCTION	52
3.2. CORRESPONDENCE WITH LOUIS DU TILLET (1538)	52
3.3. THE 1539 <i>INSTITUTIO</i>	56
3.3.1. <i>From Catechetical Manual to Loci communes and disputationes</i>	57
3.3.2. <i>The Church under the Papacy</i>	60
3.4. REPLY TO CARDINAL SADOLETO'S LETTER (1539).....	65
3.4.1. <i>The Occasion for the Correspondence</i>	66
3.4.2. <i>Sadoletto's Epistola ad senatum populumque Genevensem</i>	66
3.4.3. <i>Calvin's Responsio ad Sadoletum</i>	71
3.5. CONCLUSION.....	82

CHAPTER FOUR: CONFLICTS INTENSIFIED: THE PAPACY AND THE REUNION OF THE CHURCH.....	84
4.1. INTRODUCTION	84
4.2. CALVIN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE COLLOQUIES OF 1540-41	84
4.2.1 <i>The Colloquy of Hagenau and Calvin's Impression</i>	85
4.2.2 <i>The Colloquy of Worms and the Deliberations of Protestant Theologians</i>	87
4.2.3 <i>Two Anti-papal Works</i>	94
4.2.4 <i>The Colloquy of Regensburg</i>	103
4.3. THE 1543 <i>INSTITUTIO</i>	112
4.3.1. <i>Introduction: Scope and Motivation</i>	112
4.3.2. <i>Primacy of the Pope</i>	118
4.3.3. <i>Arguments from the Old Testament</i>	121
4.3.4. <i>Arguments from the New Testament</i>	123
4.3.5. <i>Calvin's Concessio</i>	133
4.3.6. <i>The Primacy of Roman Papacy and Peter</i>	142
4.3.7. <i>Refutation of Primacy of the Roman see in the Ancient Church</i>	146
4.3.8. <i>Origin and Growth of the Primacy of the Roman See</i>	151
4.3.9. <i>Rejection of Contemporay Papal Supremacy</i>	168
4.3.10. <i>Calvin's Final Concessio</i>	170
4.3.11. <i>The Pope as the Antichrist</i>	173
4.4. CONCLUSION.....	176
CHAPTER FIVE: THE APEX OF THE CONFLICTS: THE PAPACY AND THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH	178
5.1. INTRODUCTION	178
5.2. THE NECESSITY OF REFORMING THE CHURCH (1543).....	179
5.2.1. <i>Schism and the Papacy</i>	180
5.2.2. <i>Primacy and the Doctrine of Christ</i>	182
5.2.3. <i>Praecipua doctrina</i>	184
5.2.4. <i>The Pope and Reform</i>	188
5.3. DEBATING WITH THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY OF PARIS (1544).....	189
5.3.1. <i>The Faculty of Theology of Paris</i>	189
5.3.2. <i>Calvin's Critique of the Faculty's Articles</i>	191
5.4. CRITIQUE OF THE <i>ADMONITIO</i> OF PAUL III (1545).....	197
5.4.1. <i>Pope Paul III's Admonitio</i>	198
5.4.2. <i>Calvin's Critique of the Admonitio</i>	199
5.5. CRITIQUE OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (1548)	203
5.5.1. <i>The Purpose of Calvin's Antidote</i>	204
5.5.2. <i>The Pope and Trent</i>	205
5.5.3. <i>The Hope of Reform and the Person of Paul III</i>	208
5.5.4. <i>Critique of Tridentine Decrees</i>	211
5.6. REFUTATION OF THE AUGSBURG <i>INTERIM</i> (1548)	222
5.6.1. <i>The Primacy of the Roman Pontiff in the Interim</i>	222
5.6.2. <i>Calvin's Response</i>	224
5.7. FINAL ECUMENICAL ACTIVITIES	229
5.7.1. <i>Hope and Pessimism (1551)</i>	229
5.7.2. <i>A Free, Universal Council (1560/2)</i>	231
5.8. CONCLUSION.....	236

CHAPTER SIX: NO COMPROMISE & A FINAL CONFESSIONAL STATEMENT	239
6.1. INTRODUCTION	239
6.2. THE CRITIQUE OF GEORGE CASSANDER'S IRENICISM (1561).....	239
6.2.1. <i>The Background</i>	239
6.2.2. <i>Cassander's De officio</i>	240
6.2.3. <i>Calvin's Response: The Limits of Calvin's Ecumenism with regard to the Papacy</i>	242
6.3. A FINAL CONFESSIONAL STATEMENT (1562)	247
6.4. CALVIN'S DEATHBED ATTITUDE (1564).....	248
6.5. CONCLUSION.....	249
CHAPTER SEVEN: GENERAL CONCLUSION.....	251
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	280

Acknowledgements

No words can express the depth of gratitude I owe my supervisor of study, Professor David F. Wright, for the completion of this dissertation. Many students express their gratitude to many academics that have helped them. But for me, Professor Wright gave me the best of chances, guidance, advice, encouragement, and care. He asked critical questions, sharpened my sense of direction, and reminded me of the pitfalls to avoid, in order to lift my research from one level to another. He is more than a supervisor. My wife and I will remain grateful to him for his fatherly counsel on occasions of our ill health. What touches me most is that his support relieved me of the anxiety for research at the time when my mother passed away, as well as when my wife broke her ankle after my mother's funeral in Hong Kong.

I am indebted to Mr. Roy M. Pinkerton of the Classics Department, from whom I first learnt my Latin. His expert knowledge of the Latin language still leaves me spellbound. My many thanks must also go to Fen Crosbie. With her help, I could see how some of Calvin's texts could better be translated. She is an unforgettable teacher.

This dissertation could not be completed without the support of my wife Ruth (陳美笑). She is my helper fit for me, a great gift from God. My words are brief but my love for her is deep. My children, Torrance, Francis, and Martyn, play an inspiring role too. They bring fun and joy and warmth to my life.

I must thank my two elder sisters, Suk-yin Fung (馮淑賢) and Wai-ching Fung (馮惠貞), whose self-sacrifice on my behalf allowed me to receive the best opportunities in life. Together with my mother, they deserve some of the best honour here.

I must mention my home church in Hong Kong, the Hung Hom Christian Church and the Tai Po Christian Church, for their prayers and some of their financial support. There are so many brothers and sisters I must thank but the list is just too long. Among them I must mention two couples, Eddie & Amy Wong, as well as Steve & Paulina Leung, whose contacts and visits have meant so much to us.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the many brothers and sisters in the Chinese Evangelical Church in Edinburgh. Among them I must name a loving couple, Chak-por & Wai-hang Cheung. I treasure their friendship. I will not forget the many brothers and sisters of the Glasgow Chinese Christian Church either. Their kindness allows me to see the model of a loving church. To be able to serve among these two churches is a joy. Yet, to receive encouragement and brotherly love from them is a greater blessing. The support of these churches often reminds me of the Lord's promise to Paul, which has stuck deep in my mind ever since I first read it in Greek: 'Μὴ φοβοῦ, ... διότι ἐγώ εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ ...' (Acts 18:9).

For any one who reads this page, I want them to know that I love my mother 葉玉清 dearly. She was a great mother. In my memory, I had only seen my father once. But my mother gave me more than a double portion of a mum's love that I needed. She became a Christian in 1998, at the age of 71, and received baptism in the same year. Since then she was a great prayer warrior, interceding day and night for her children and grandchildren. Her prayers enabled us to experience so much of God's wonderful grace. She rested in the Lord in Hong Kong last year. The Lord allowed me to return to Hong Kong to be with her for five days, at a time when her sudden death was least expected. The providence of that return trip was part of God's answer to her prayer. She is always in my heart, and, with the conviction of Calvin's doctrine of assurance in my heart, I know that we will meet again. This work is dedicated to her blessed memory.

Abbreviations

<i>AH</i>	<i>Adversus Haereses</i> (Irenaeus)
<i>ANCL</i>	Ante-Nicene Christian Library
<i>ARC</i>	<i>Acta Reformationis Catholicae Ecclesiam Germaniae</i> <i>Concernentia Saeculi XVI</i>
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i>
<i>Articles</i>	<i>Articles on Calvin and Calvinism</i> , vol. 1-14, ed. Richard C. Gamble (reference gives volume number and page number)
<i>AS</i>	<i>Augustinian Studies</i>
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i>
<i>Bibl. Calviniana</i>	<i>Bibliotheca calviniana</i> . Genève, 1991-1994, 2 vols., by R. Peter & J. -Fr. Gilmont
<i>Calvin Studies</i>	<i>Calvin Studies</i> . Papers Presented at a Colloquium on Calvin Studies at Davidson College Presbyterian Church and Davidson College
<i>Cat</i>	<i>Catholica</i>
<i>CDCT</i>	<i>The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent</i> , trans. H. J. Schroeder
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>C&Th</i>	<i>Church and Theology</i>
<i>CHJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Historical Journal</i>
<i>CHR</i>	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
<i>CNTC</i>	<i>Calvin's New Testament Commentaries</i> , 12 vols., ed. David W. Torrance & Thomas F. Torrance
<i>CO</i>	<i>Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia</i> (Corpus Reformatorum, vols. 29-87)
<i>Conc</i>	<i>Concilium</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Corpus Reformatorum</i>
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
<i>Csi</i>	<i>De Consideratione</i>
<i>CT</i>	<i>Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio</i> , 14 Vols
<i>CTB</i>	<i>Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze</i>
<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
<i>CTQ</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Quarterly</i>
<i>CTS</i>	Calvin Translation Society
<i>CTT</i>	<i>Calvin: Theological Treatises</i> , ed. J. K. S. Reid (reference gives page number only)
<i>CWE</i>	<i>Collected Works of Erasmus</i>
<i>DEL</i>	<i>Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin</i>
<i>DHT</i>	<i>Dictionary of Historical Theology</i>
<i>Doumergue</i>	<i>Jean Calvin, les hommes et les choses de son temps</i> , 7 vols. By Emile Doumergue
<i>Ep. Clem.</i>	<i>Epistle of Clement</i> (to James)
<i>EQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>EuroJTh</i>	<i>European Journal of Theology</i>

FCNT	The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation
Friedberg	<i>Corpus iuris canonici</i> , vol. 1, ed. E. Friedberg
GIA II	<i>Growth in Agreement II: Reports and Agreed Statements of Ecumenical Conversations on a World Level, 1982-1998</i> (Reference gives page and paragraph number)
Gre	<i>Gregorianum</i>
Greg. VII. Reg.	E. Caspar (ed.), <i>Das Register Gregors VII.</i> , MGH
HE	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (Eusebius)
Herminjard	<i>Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française recueillie et publiée avec d'autres lettres relatives à la Réforme et des notes historiques et bibliographiques</i> . 9 Vols
HJG	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
Institutes (1536/Bat)	<i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i> (1536), trans. & annotated by Ford Lewis Battles
Institutio (1539)	<i>Joannes Calvinus, Institutio christianæ religionis nunc vere demum suo titulo respondens</i> , Strasbourg: Wendelin Rihel, 1539
Institutio (1543)	<i>Joannes Calvinus, Institutio Christianae Religionis ...</i> Ed. 3. Strasbourg, Wendelin Rihel, 1543
Institutes (1559/Bat)	<i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i> (1559), 2 vols., ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles
Institutes (1559/Bev)	<i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i> (1559), trans. Henry Beveridge
Instruction	<i>John Calvin, Instruction in Faith</i> (1537)
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCSE	<i>John Calvin's Sermons on Ephesians</i>
JCSETT	<i>Sermons on the Epistles to Timothy & Titus</i> , by John Calvin
JCSG	<i>John Calvin's Sermons on Galatians</i> , by John Calvin, trans. Kathy Childress
JCSTC	<i>John Calvin's Sermons on the Ten Commandments</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JES	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i>
JRH	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Koers	<i>Koers. Bulletin for Christian Scholarship</i>
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LJC	<i>Letters of John Calvin</i> , 4 vols, ed. Jules Bonnet
LQ	<i>Lutheran Quarterly</i>
LW	<i>Luther's Works</i>
MAJT	<i>Mid-America Journal of Theology</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
Moral.	Gregory the Great, <i>Moralia in Iob</i> , in <i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> , vol. 143, 143A, 143B
PL	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina</i> , (Paris, 1844-1904)
MQ	<i>McCormick Quarterly</i>

NCMH	<i>The New Cambridge Modern History</i> , 12 vols
NPNF	A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, first series
NPNF 2 ser.	A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, second series
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OCD	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3 rd edition
OER	<i>Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation</i>
OS	<i>Johannis Calvini Opera Selecta</i> , ed. Peter Barth, Wilhelm Niesel, and Dora Scheuner
OXD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
PLu	<i>Positions luthériennes</i>
PSB	<i>The Princeton Seminary Bulletin</i>
PTR	<i>Princeton Theological Review</i>
Reg. Past.	<i>Regulae Pastoralis Liber</i> , in <i>Sancti Gregorii Papae I cognomento magni, Opera omnia</i> , vol. 3, PL 77
Registr.	<i>Registri Epistolarum</i> , in <i>Sancti Gregorii Papae I cognomento magni, Opera omnia</i> , vol. 3, PL 77
RJ	<i>Reformed Journal</i>
RL	<i>Religion in Life</i>
RMLWL	<i>Revised Medieval Latin Word-List From British And Irish Sources With Supplement</i>
RR	<i>Revue Réformée</i>
RRev	<i>Reformed Review</i>
RS	<i>Religious Studies</i>
RSR	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
RTP	<i>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie</i>
RTR	<i>Reformed Theological Review</i>
SA	<i>The Smalcald Articles</i>
SCJ	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
STh	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
T&T	John Calvin, <i>Tracts and Treatises</i> , 3 vols., trans. Henry Beveridge (References give the volume and page number)
ThS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
Them	<i>Themelios</i>
Theo	<i>Theology</i>
ThT	<i>Theology Today</i>
TSK	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
UUS	<i>Ut unum sint. Encyclical Letter of the Holy Father John Paul II on Commitment to Ecumenism</i> (Reference gives page and paragraph number)
VC	<i>Verbum Caro</i>
VE	<i>Vox Evangelica</i>
WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe</i>

WABr

*D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe.
Briefwechsel* (References give volume, number of the letter,
and the page on which the passage is found)

WTJ

Westminster Theological Journal

Abstract

The objective of this dissertation is to clarify Calvin's thought and attitude towards the papacy by tracing the development of his critique of the bishop of Rome throughout his career. Chapter One introduces the state of research on Calvin's critique of the papacy in the last century. This brief examination reveals that studies on Calvin's critique are hampered by a lack of historical treatment of the development of Calvin's thought as well as biased by the ecumenical assumptions of some of the researchers. Our thesis is that Calvin did reject the pope's primacy absolutely and this is based on the pope's relation to the true doctrine of the gospel and to Christ. This apparently simple conclusion, however, can only be arrived at by studying Calvin's thought in its historical development, exploring his attitude and the themes and reasons of his criticism of the papacy in each phase. Upon reading and re-reading of Calvin's works relating to his critique of the papacy the thesis organises Calvin's critique into five phases in which his conflicts with the papacy progresses from one stage to another. Chapter Two explores the earliest period of Calvin's reform career. It confirms not only that there were already latent conflicts in Calvin's mind against the papacy, but also that the chief concerns evident in his later critique of the papacy were already present. Chapter Three studies how Calvin came into open conflicts with the papacy through his correspondence with his friend du Tillet and Cardinal Sadoletto. It also recounts how Calvin reshaped the purpose of his 1536 *Institutio* to enable editions from 1539 onwards to become a theological platform against his opponents. Chapter Four investigates how Calvin's conflicts with the papacy intensified. It demonstrates the importance of Calvin's participation in the colloquies of 1540-41 for leading the reformer to concentrate his effort to refute the primacy of the Roman see. This reaches its fulfilment in his publication of the highly important 1543 *Institutio* in which Calvin rejects the primacy of the pope comprehensively. Chapter Five examines a stage of climactic conflicts. It culminates in his unforgiving rejection of the pope in his *Antidote* to the Council of Trent. But this stage also reveals surprising information about Calvin's 'concessions' to the papacy, yet without compromising his consistent rejection of papal primacy. Chapter Six delineates the limits of Calvin's ecumenical vision and recounts the unbending attitude of the reformer towards the pope at the end of his life. In all these chapters we find consistent reasons explaining Calvin's absolute rejection of the primacy of the pope. At the same time we also detect that there is a form of papacy that could have been acceptable to Calvin. Therefore in the last chapter, apart from linking up the connections of Calvin's criticism of the papacy in its historical development, a theological interpretation is given of the complexities of these seemingly incompatible ideas, and we also attempt to draw out the ecumenical implications of Calvin's criticism.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Preliminary Remarks

The ecumenical movement of the last century is a momentous milestone for the history of the church from the standpoint of the Reformation.¹ What was conceived of as being impossible in terms of an end to division between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant churches after the close of the Council of Trent was given a new glimpse of hope under the ecumenical movement of the twentieth century, especially after Vatican II.² The momentum of dialogue continues as the church steps into the twenty first century, as evidenced by the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification made in Augsburg, Germany, 31 October 1999.³ Yet the ecumenical task is an enormous one. Of all the unsettled issues, the problem of the primacy of the pope remains a fundamental one.⁴ Even on this issue there are signs of positive attitudes and convergences among dialogue parties.⁵ Nevertheless, it must be admitted that many remain sceptical, especially those who stand aloof from the ecumenical movement.⁶ Undeniably one's attitude or approach to the ecumenical effort is no less influenced by one's Christian tradition. Among the major Protestant traditions, Luther's and Calvin's influence can still be felt in ecumenical dialogue today. Of the two reformers, Luther's relation with the papacy has received the greater attention by scholars. Scott H. Hendrix's *Luther and the Papacy: Stages in a Reformation Conflict*,⁷ a highly acclaimed book in the editorial comments of Heiko A. Oberman, illustrates this very well. With Hendrix's monograph, we have one major study on the development of Luther's anti-papal polemic. With Calvin studies, however, we still lack a comparable study on Calvin's relation to the papacy. For another example, while G. R. Evans's *Problems of Authority in the Reformation*

¹ For a study of the meanings and uses of the word 'oikoumene' see Brown 1967: 12-15.

² Brown (1967) is a classic study.

³ *GIA II* 2000: 566-82.

⁴ The following evaluation by Küng (1970: 57) is illustrative of the problem: 'The papacy is the one issue which causes all our partners in discussion the greatest problem, both in dogma and practice. This we cannot afford to overlook, since it would seem to be the greatest stumbling-block in inter-denominational understanding.' See also Brown (1967: 291-305) lists three ongoing obstacles, which are described as 'long-range theological issues that seriously and deeply divide Christians, for which no ready-made solutions are visible' (p. 291): (1) Papacy and infallibility, (2) the role of Mary, and (3) the relationship of Scripture and tradition. Brown (1967: 292): 'When all other problems have been resolved, there is one that will remain to haunt the Protestant-Catholic dialogue—the different estimates the two groups make of the powers that inhere in the office of the bishop of Rome.' Cf. also Torrance 1984: 60; Lane 2002: 231.

⁵ See for example, Lehmann-Pannenberg 1990: 157-9.

⁶ Douglass 1997: 33.

⁷ Hendrix 1981.

*Debates*⁸ does mention Calvin on a number of occasions, Luther's significance dominates the discussion by contrast. Was Calvin less significant in the Reformation debates? Whatever one's theological inclination, one cannot ignore the ideas of John Calvin whose attitude to the papacy will remain an influential force in the continuing ecumenical dialogue.⁹ It is time to undertake a major study on this area of Calvin's thought.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this thesis is to uncover the history of Calvin's critique of the papacy in order to clarify his thought and attitude towards the bishop of Rome. The aim is comparable to Hendrix's effort in his study of Luther's relation to the papacy: to mark the development and stages of Calvin's critique of the papacy in his career as a reformer. At the same time, attempts will be made to analyse Calvin's arguments at crucial points in order to determine his theological view as well as his attitude towards the papacy. Our ultimate purpose in investigating this history is to determine the kind of papacy Calvin was against, the nature of his rejection of the papacy, his deepest reasons for this antagonism and the kind of papacy acceptable to him in his whole development. That is why this thesis is called a historical and theological study. In the end we will also draw out the ecumenical implications of Calvin's thought from this study.

Traditionally, it is assumed that, since Calvin rejected the papacy absolutely, for those who follow his lead no ecumenical dialogue with the Roman Catholics is possible. This has been the general attitude among many churches for the past four hundred years. This assumption has serious consequences in church history. On the other hand, since many today seek to maintain ecumenical dialogue between the Protestant Church and the Roman Catholic Church, studies on Calvin's attitude to the papacy are in danger of being coloured by this motivation. Does absolute rejection of the papacy on Calvin's part render ecumenical dialogue impossible? Does conditional rejection alone make dialogue possible for the Reformed churches? Could it be possible that while Calvin's attitude to the papacy in his time was nothing less than absolute, his theological thinking can still contribute to ecumenical dialogue even on such important issue as papal primacy in the church today? To answer these

⁸ Evans 1992.

⁹ Thus, in concluding his study on John Calvin and Vatican II, the Catholic theologian Kilian McDonnell (1967c: 556) perceptively wrote, 'The ultimate confrontation, it must be understood, must not be between Calvin and Vatican II but between contemporary Protestant thought and Vatican II. However, we must keep our historical roots; and it is important to confront Calvin with the Conciliar developments, so that we know where we stand with regard to the Reformation.'

questions, one must try to examine the history and development of Calvin's critique of the papacy in more detail.

1.3. State of Research

The five review articles by David C. Steinmetz,¹⁰ Robert White,¹¹ Richard C. Gamble,¹² Donald K. McKim,¹³ and Richard A. Muller¹⁴ reveal that major works on Calvin's relation to the papacy are still lacking in Calvin studies. More significantly, this aspect of Calvin's polemical works does not occupy a place in their reviews. Admittedly, this is not their responsibility. It only confirms our observation that on Calvin's critique of the papacy, we still lack a major study comparable to Hendrix's monograph. As a result, our review has to adopt a sort of gleaning procedure in order to discover and evaluate the state of Calvin research on this subject.¹⁵

An old view regarding Calvin's attitude towards the papacy is that the reformer rejected the papacy absolutely. This can be illustrated from the Translator's Preface of the *Tracts and Treatises in Defense of the Reformed Faith by John Calvin*, in which the translator, introducing Calvin's *Acta Synodi Tridentinae cum antidoto*,¹⁶ gives the reader the impression that Calvin's rejection of the papacy is nothing less than absolute.¹⁷ This view of Calvin's attitude to the papacy remained strong in the turn of the twentieth century.

Undeniably, a more comprehensive examination of what Calvin really said on the papacy remains limited.¹⁸ G. C. Berkouwer's 'Calvin and Rome', a major essay

¹⁰ Steinmetz 1982: 211-32.

¹¹ White 1982: 140-61. White's review (1965-1980) highlights Ganoczy's works for us. His mention of Stauffer's 'Calvin et le *De officio pii viri*' stimulates me to consider the ecumenical relevance of Calvin's reply to Cassander's *De officio*, which will be used toward the end of this study.

¹² Gamble 1994: 91-112.

¹³ McKim 2001: 141-6.

¹⁴ Muller 2001: 131-9. Muller's article is an update of his earlier review in Muller (1998: 70-87). It offers the best review so far, which consists of six groups of works: (1) the text of Calvin, (2) biographical studies of Calvin, (3) social and political studies of Calvin, (4) doctrinal or theological studies of Calvin, (5) studies of Calvin and interpretation, and (6) rhetorical and literary studies of Calvin. But it does not mention any work done on Calvin and the papacy. It barely mentions Ganoczy's *Le jeune Calvin*, but without any hints of its having any bearing on Calvin's relation to the Catholic Church.

¹⁵ Some relevant studies are found in Niesel (1961)'s *Calvin-Bibliographie, 1901-1959*, Kempff (1975)'s *A Bibliography of Calviniana, 1959-1974*, as well as the Calvin Bibliography published annually in the Calvin Theological Journal in its November issue. The H. Henry Meeter Center for Calvin Studies makes the Calvin Bibliography (those published in recent years) available online (<http://www.calvin.edu/meeter/biblio.htm>).

¹⁶ CO 7: 364-506.

¹⁷ T&T 3: vii-ix.

¹⁸ Milner (1970: 150-3) gives only one small section to the treatment of Calvin's critique of the papacy. In fact there is more to be explored in the relation between Calvin's doctrine of the church and his rejection of the papacy.

from a Reformed theologian written before Vatican II to outline Calvin's reasons for rejecting Rome, mainly based his study on Calvin's 1559 *Institutio*. He points out that Calvin 'saw in the Pope the fierce antagonist of the gospel.'¹⁹ Accurate as this judgment may be, we are given only one conceptual aspect of Calvin's thought, as the developmental dimension of Calvin's critique is still lacking. But Berkouwer does point out the relevance of Calvin's polemics for us today, though this is put in a very cautious manner. Thus Berkouwer writes,

Calvin was not an anti-papist who fired his darts against excesses. He attacked the very heart of the Roman faith, and discovered the norm of the church: the gospel. Because of this Calvin's polemics is relevant today. It is applicable to the doctrines of tradition and infallibility of the Pope in which the question of authority comes to the foreground. When Rome promulgated the doctrine of infallibility in 1870 by which the Pope was declared free from criticism in doctrinal matters, the very problem of a norm for us which had occupied Calvin's entire life again became definitive.²⁰

Gerhard Kretz's PhD thesis, *Calvins Auseinandersetzung mit der Katholischen Kirche* (Heidelberg, 1962), a major German study on Calvin's criticism of the Roman Catholic Church before the Second Vatican Council.²¹ Kretz's work, however, is not a historical study. It is rather a thematic, theological examination of Calvin's criticism of the Roman Catholic Church.²² In Kretz's own words,

Es handelt sich um das Verständnis des sachlich - systematischen Zusammenhangs von Calvins theoretischer oder theologischer Auseinandersetzung.²³

Although the work does not deal exclusively with the papacy, it does include Calvin's critique of the papacy. Two sections in chapter 2 deal with the dominion of the papacy and Calvin's critique of the papal primacy.²⁴ Towards the end of the study Kretz deals with the idea of the papal Antichrist.²⁵ A few observations should be highlighted in this connection. First, the fact that Calvin's criticism of the papal

¹⁹ Berkouwer: 1959: 185-196.

²⁰ Berkouwer 1959:194.

²¹ This is shown by the Kretz (1962: IX-XV)'s bibliography and Kretz (1962: 9-15)'s discussion of relevant literature. As a result of this review, Kretz (1962: 14) gives this observation: 'Ausser den genannten Werken zeigt die Literatur, soweit sie eingesehen wurde, bezüglich der Kritik Calvins an der katholischen Kirche nur kurze, meist schlagwortartige Hinweise, die zum Verständnis der kritischen Urteile nichts beitragen.' Thus Kretz (1962: 15) concludes, 'Aus dieser Übersicht über die Literatur ergibt sich, dass die vorliegende Fragestellung fast ausschliesslich auf die Quellen angewiesen ist.'

²² The first chapter deals with *Calvins Kirchenlehre*; the second, *Calvins Kritik der katholischen Kirchenleitung*; the third, *Calvins Kritik der katholischen Heilslehre*; the fourth, *Calvins Kritik des katholischen Kultus*; and the fifth, *Calvins Gesamtbeurteilung der katholischen Kirche*.

²³ Kretz 1962: 2.

²⁴ Kretz 1962: 95-104.

²⁵ Kretz 1962: 432-49.

Antichrist is left at the end of the thesis implies that Calvin's critique of the papacy is seen to be his climactic criticism of the Roman Catholic Church. Second, Calvin's rejection of the papacy is seen to be total and absolute.²⁶ Thirdly, Kretz's examination in this regard is based largely on the 1559 *Institutio*.²⁷ It is therefore more a systematisation of Calvin's thought than a tracing of his theological views as manifested at different stages of the reformer's career.

The years surrounding and following Vatican II, however, witness a somewhat different perspective in reading Calvin's attitude to Rome among some scholars. For example, Robert M. Kingdon, though not writing directly on Calvin's attitude to the papacy, hinted in a paper entitled 'Some French Reactions to the Council of Trent' (1964)²⁸ a revised reading of Calvin's attitude to Trent. Writing conscious of the growing ecumenical age, Kingdon summarised the former view: Calvin 'did not really consider seriously the possibility of reunion with Rome.'²⁹ However, in one paragraph, Kingdon finds surprising agreement with Trent in Calvin's *Antidote* when the reformer could still say 'Amen' to some of the Tridentine texts.³⁰ This 'revisionist' reading did not stop at Kingdon's interpretation of Calvin's attitude to Trent.³¹ Even a change in the understanding of Calvin's attitude to the papacy was soon to follow.

For a moment, Jean Cadier's 'Calvin and the Union of the Churches' still reflects an age-old opinion about Calvin. Calvin was seen by 'centuries of slander' as the 'first to declare war with Rome.'³² He writes, 'we must make it clear that Calvin's position vis-à-vis Rome was quite distinctly one of separation.'³³ Although Cadier has included a section on Calvin's participation in the religious conferences with Roman Catholics in 1540-41, at a time 'before positions became too

²⁶ Kretz (1962: 104): '...Er verwarf also die päpstliche Herrschaftsstellung vollständig.' Kretz (1962: 434): 'Wenn er auch gelegentlich den Eindruck erweckte, als ob er den Papst selbst, den "Götzen zu Rom," mit dem Antichristen identifizieren wollte, so ist es doch eindeutig dass er die Institution des papsttums and die darauf begründete Herrschaft mit dem Antichristen and dessen Reich gleichsetzte.'

²⁷ Calvin's *Antidote* to the Council of Trent is seen to have furnished significant information on Calvin's judgment on the papacy. See Kretz (1962: 443).

²⁸ Kingdon 1964: 149-56.

²⁹ Kingdon 1964: 151.

³⁰ Kingdon 1964: 151.

³¹ Referring to Kingdon's article, Swierenga (1966a: 36) writes: 'Professor Kingdon's revisionist views raise a whole series of new problems concerning Calvin's attitude toward Trent. Surely the entirely negative viewpoint is no longer tenable; the entire subject demands reconsideration.' Cf. After the publication of Kingdon's paper there also emerged a few reappraisals of Calvin's reaction to the Council of Trent. See Swierenga 1966a: 35-37; Swierenga 1966b: 16-21; Swierenga 1966c: 20-23; Casteel 1970: 91-117.

³² Cadier 1966: 118-30.

³³ Cadier 1966: 118.

entrenched', at the end of his essay he depicted Calvin as one who would abhor ecumenical dialogue with Roman Catholicism. He writes:

Calvin had a very firm vision of the unity of the church. In our day he would certainly have been on the side of the movement towards the uniting of the churches, the Ecumenical Movement; *not the ecumenism of Roman Catholicism which he would abhor*, and which is unthinkable for a son of the Reformation, for it consists in a return to a church in which the power of the papacy has hardened still more than in the sixteenth century; but non-Roman ecumenism, that of the World Council of Churches, in which the Reformed Churches hold an important place because of their faithfulness to the will for reunion which they derive from their founder³⁴ (italics mine).

Ivor Bishton Thomas wrote a ThD thesis in 1966 entitled *John Calvin's Rejection of Roman Catholic Christianity*.³⁵ This thesis is divided into two parts. The first part occupies one chapter, which deals with the church and the papacy. The second part, six chapters in all, deals with Calvin's rejection of Roman doctrines.³⁶ Although he included Calvin's major polemical writings against the Roman Catholics and worked out a systematic treatment of Calvin's polemical themes against Rome, Thomas's work relied mainly on Calvin's 1559 *Institutes*. In a thematic study of this kind we are offered a theological presentation of Calvin's thoughts regarding the errors and corruption of the Roman Catholic Church in Calvin's time. The critique of the papacy, treated in one section under the first chapter, follows more or less the order treated in the 1559 *Institutes*, only much briefer. It is more a thematic organisation of Calvin's thought on the papacy than a historical investigation of his thought developed throughout his career. Critical evaluation of the nature of his attitude is also lacking. It is understood that the latter is not the author's concern. The main point in the conclusion of the thesis is that Calvin has focused upon the fundamental issues that divide Western Christendom to this day, and, encouragingly, the author suggests that these issues must be faced in the ecumenical dialogue today.³⁷

Surprisingly, more in-depth studies of Calvin and the papacy are found in the works of a Catholic scholar. Ganoczy's earlier, pioneering and massive work, *Calvin*

³⁴ Cadier 1966: 128-9

³⁵ Thomas 1966.

³⁶ These six chapters are arranged in the following order: Man and Sin, Justification, Faith, Authority, Sacraments, and Calvin's Catholicism.

³⁷ Thomas (1966: 404-5): 'The questions raised by this refutation must be answered if any reunion of the Roman and Protestant churches is to ever take place. Dialogue between the heirs of the reformers and the heirs of their Roman Catholic opponents must begin here at the questions of the nature of salvation and authority. The positions of the reformers and their opponents on both matters were poles apart. Either one of the parties was wrong or they both were. There can be no future in a dialogue which seeks to avoid the question of who was right in the Reformation controversies or to avoid the crucial issues raised by the reformers altogether.'

théologien de l'église et du ministère, is a clear sign of Catholic interest in Calvin.³⁸ This is a study of Calvin's ecclesiology based on the successive editions of his *Institutes*. It does cover Calvin's view of the papacy. However, while it is broad in its attempt as a study on Calvin's ecclesiology covering the 1536, 1539, 1543, and 1559 *Institutio*, discovering both divergences and common points between Calvin's teaching and Roman Catholicism,³⁹ with regard to Calvin's view of the papacy, it is still limited in scope. This is because the study does not include other anti-papal works than the *Institutes*. In the section on the question of the papacy, Ganoczy points out that Calvin attributed to Peter a functional primacy, although he did not concede a position of primacy to the pope over the entire church.⁴⁰ It is significant to mark that Ganoczy arrives at the conclusion that the reason for Calvin's rejection of the papacy was because the pope was unfaithful to the 'pastoral ministry.'⁴¹ Ganoczy also comments that Calvin did not distinguish between the institution and their representatives; with the unfaithfulness of the representatives, he condemned the institution as well.⁴² Yet Ganoczy is of the opinion that since Calvin's deepest reason for rejecting the papacy was due to the fact that the pope had misused the pastoral office, his teaching concerning the papacy is not rigid. Calvin's position is dialectic and often incomplete, and thus is full of possibilities for development.⁴³

Ganoczy's *Le jeune Calvin: Genèse et évolution de sa vocation réformatrice*,⁴⁴ though not a work exclusively on Calvin's view of the papacy, shows the benefit one can get from a historical investigation of Calvin's call and task as a reformer of the church.⁴⁵ As the title suggests, this important study was limited only to Calvin's earlier works.⁴⁶ One significant insight in Ganoczy's study is that rejecting the papacy for Calvin did not mean departing from the church of Christ. He writes,

Calvin is careful not to attribute the title of "Catholic Church" to the papacy or the papists. Instead, he calls them the "the papal kingdom" or even the "the church of the Antichrist." This is an important distinction, for it indicates that the young reformer does not think of rebelling against the one, holy, catholic and apostolic

³⁸ It was originally Ganoczy's thesis submitted to the Gregorian University on 11 May 1963. It was published in 1964 at Paris in the series of 'Unam Sanctam' on the four-hundredth anniversary of the death of John Calvin.

³⁹ Cf. Battle 1970a: 807-9.

⁴⁰ Ganoczy 1964: 396.

⁴¹ Ganoczy 1964: 400.

⁴² Ganoczy 1964: 399.

⁴³ Ganoczy 1964: 400.

⁴⁴ Ganoczy 1966a. I am using the English translation: Ganoczy 1988.

⁴⁵ Part 1 studies Calvin's religious development between 1523 and 1539. Nijenhuis (1994a: 10) speaks of the 'definite [ecumenical] preoccupation' of Ganoczy's interpretation of Calvin.

⁴⁶ Note that Steinmetz (1982: 220) also links Ganoczy's work to the stimulation of the 'ecumenical openness of the Second Vatican Council.'

church, but only against its distortions... The cancer is in the body; it is not the body itself. The "church" of the Antichrist claims to supplant the Church, but it is not the Church.⁴⁷

Thus for the sake of church unity, Calvin can still maintain dialogue with the Roman Catholics.⁴⁸ The implications of this for ecumenical dialogue are tremendous beyond what many have thought about.⁴⁹

Ganoczy's *Calvin et Vatican II: l'Eglise servante*⁵⁰ is a clear indication of the influence of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium* (21 November 1964), on his Calvin study. He focused his attention on Chapters 1-3 of this important document and found that, apart from some divergences, there are substantial agreements between Calvin and Vatican II: the 'pneumatic structure' of the church, the church as servant, the central role of the Holy Spirit in the constitution and charismatic structure of the church, and the importance of the local congregation.⁵¹ What encourages dialogue between the two is that both uphold the Lordship of Christ as the fundamental ecclesiological principle⁵² and the common emphasis placed on the ministries of the church—pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons.⁵³

The main controversial questions, however, lie in the understanding of ecclesiastical orders, episcopacy and the primacy of the pope. Calvin's supreme principle is that Christ alone is the Lord. This determines his understanding of episcopacy and primacy. Episcopacy is not about power or dignity. The bishop's office is to preach the Word in the name of the Lord and to administer the sacraments. Primacy is not essential for the existence of the church. The reign of Christ exercised through the ministry of the Word is sufficient for the church.⁵⁴ Although Calvin was 'no fanatical and blind opponent of all forms of papacy,' his position is 'irreconcilable' with the four chapters of the dogmatic constitution of Vatican I.⁵⁵ But if Vatican II did not alter the nature and the wordings of Vatican I, it has added some significant teachings that have found common ground with Calvin's

⁴⁷ Ganoczy 1988: 216.

⁴⁸ Ganoczy (1988: 312): 'Calvin's calling as a reformer, a factor in division for the past four centuries, may in some way now become a factor in reunion.'

⁴⁹ This unpolemical study of Calvin is not an isolated event. It indeed follows the footsteps of a 'fresh evaluation of Luther.' For the latter, see Atkinson 1984: 313-27.

⁵⁰ Ganoczy 1968a. I am using the German translation on hand in Ganoczy (1968b).

⁵¹ Ganoczy 1968b: 345-82. Cf. Ganoczy 1988: 312.

⁵² Ganoczy 1968b: 383-88.

⁵³ Ganoczy 1968b: 389-407.

⁵⁴ Ganoczy 1968b: 419.

⁵⁵ Ganoczy 1968b: 425-6. The four chapters concern: the institution of the apostolic primacy in Peter, the perpetuity of the primacy of Peter in the Roman pontiff, the power and nature of the primacy of the Roman pontiff, and the infallible teaching of the Roman pontiff *ex cathedra*.

ecclesiology.⁵⁶ What marks this new tendency most clearly is an emphatic pastoral spirit shining through *Lumen Gentium*.⁵⁷ Moreover, Vatican II maintains a balance between primacy and collegiality.⁵⁸

Mention must be made of Ganoczy's latest comment on Calvin's position on papal primacy in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*:

The possibility remained open that the ministry of Peter, once renewed according to its original purpose, could take over a legitimate ministry to the worldwide *communio ecclesiarum*. The ministry of Peter and arrogation of control over the gospel were contradictory; *ministry to true doctrine was necessary on all levels*⁵⁹ (italics mine).

Ganoczy's last statement, quoted in italics, must be underlined and, accurate as it is, require careful evaluation, since if pursued consistently, it may reveal more irreconcilable conflicts with Ganoczy's optimism regarding the renewal of the Petrine ministry understood in the Catholic context. At the very least, it may require drastic revisions of a few but central Catholic doctrines in order for Calvin, hypothetically speaking, to accept the Petrine ministry exercised by the pope in the worldwide church today. Moreover, was there an 'original purpose' of the Petrine ministry for Calvin? Again, all these questions mean that a deeper study of Calvin's view of the papacy is required.

Kilian McDonnell is basically in line with Ganoczy's perspective on Calvin. McDonnell highlights the significance of Calvin's polemics against the Roman church.

Calvin's polemic with regard to the Roman Church was undoubtedly one of the most important and essential aspects of his apostolate.⁶⁰

He admits that for Calvin there is 'surely a mark of an ultimate and inexorable enmity between the Pope and his God' when Calvin advised against a French

⁵⁶ One year later, Ganoczy (1969: 132) wrote another article critical of Vatican I: 'Il est clair que des expressions comme « jurisdictio », « tota plenitudo... supraeae potestatis », « totius Ecclesiae caput », « Pontifex », « Pater et Doctor omnium christianorum », qu'elles soient appliquées à Pierre ou à l'évêque de Rome, s'accordent mal avec le langage du Nouveau Testament. Car elles évoquent des fonctions que le Nouveau Testament réserve au seul Christ glorifié (jugement, toute-puissance, « tout-pouvoir » (Mt. 28, 18), tête du corps, Grand Prêtre, seul Maître, etc.). Un usage inconsidéré et unilatéral que l'on ferait de telles expressions en les appliquant sans nuances à Pierre et à l'évêque de Rome pourrait même les faire apparaître comme peu conformes à l'esprit du Nouveau Testament.' To be sure Ganoczy (1969: 135) affirms the primacy role as clarified in Vatican II: 'Que dans cette recherche commune la primauté romaine joue un rôle de coordination, de clarification et de formulation, on en admet la possibilité moins difficilement après Vatican II qu'avant.'

⁵⁷ Ganoczy 1968b: 426.

⁵⁸ Ganoczy 1968b: 427.

⁵⁹ Ganoczy 1996: 238.

⁶⁰ McDonnell 1967b: 106.

congregation in London praying for the pope. Yet McDonnell notes that Calvin did not deny that 'the churches under the Pope's tyranny remain churches,'⁶¹ an apparently positive note for McDonnell's view of Calvin's attitude. The motive for Calvin's rejection is 'essentially pastoral in tone.' His polemics 'as a whole proceed from an existential situation.' 'The point of departure' for his hard attitude is 'predominantly historical.'⁶² Thus McDonnell's interpretation draws us to the historical reality of Calvin's rejection, cautioning readers not to generalise from this historical reality to an ideological rejection. However, it remains to be examined if Calvin's rejection of the pope presupposed any ideological connotation. One main task for research is to see what sort of papacy Calvin was up against and what the reasons were for his rejection of the papacy.

Chronologically speaking, McDonnell's 'The Ecclesiology of John Calvin and Vatican II' (1967) goes before Ganoczy's *Calvin et Vatican II: l'Eglise servante* (1968). In this article, McDonnell examined the divergences and convergences between Calvin and Vatican II. The divergences are expressed in terms of Calvin's 'dominant ecclesiological fear,' which is the divinization and religious imperialism of the church.⁶³ That is why Calvin advocated a theology of God's transcendence, as expressed in his defining the *corpus Christi mysticum* in terms of God's secret election and predestination, whereas 'the theological point of departure for the Roman doctrine is the incarnation' and hence the emphasis placed on the Catholic Church (the encyclical *Mystici Corporis* of 1943).⁶⁴ Moreover, Calvin 'preferred plural authority to that of individuals' in all forms of government, ecclesiastical and civil.⁶⁵ But McDonnell believes that Vatican II, as expressed in the very first chapters of the Dogmatic Constitution of the Church, has alleviated Calvin's two fears. The point of departure for defining the church in Vatican II is not structure, but grace.⁶⁶ The definition of a Christian in Vatican II is by means of 'shared realities,'⁶⁷ and this, McDonnell believes, will be 'an antidote to Calvin's fear of a church conceived in terms of a power structure.'⁶⁸ Moreover, Calvin's fear of divinisation of the church can be quieted by the fact that 'even the church is not identified purely and simply

⁶¹ McDonnell 1967b: 105.

⁶² McDonnell 1967b: 108-9.

⁶³ McDonnell 1967c: 542-3.

⁶⁴ McDonnell 1967c: 544-5.

⁶⁵ McDonnell 1967c: 546.

⁶⁶ McDonnell 1967c: 547.

⁶⁷ Note that these 'sacred realities' for the non-Catholics include: baptism, honor for the Sacred Scriptures, confession of the true Godhead of the Father and the divinity of the Son, the Eucharist, episcopacy as well as devotion to the Blessed Mother (p. 549).

⁶⁸ McDonnell 1967c: 549. But would Calvin accept 'devotion to the Blessed Mother' as part of these 'sacred realities'?

with the Catholic Church.⁶⁹ In addition, the emphasis placed on service rather than dignity is one powerful antidote to divinisation. What McDonnell did not discuss, however, is whether Calvin could accept the primacy of the pope, which is never compromised by Vatican II.

Ross Mackenzie's 'The Reformed Tradition and the Papacy,' written with a purpose to promote Reformed-Roman Catholic dialogue, admits from the beginning that 'the *absolute rejection* by the Reformed churches of papal primacy finds its inception in Calvin's view of the church and his doctrine of authority.' He attributes 'the bitter spirit of subsequent Catholic-Protestant controversy' to 'Calvin's sharp criticism of the Popes.'⁷⁰ This reflects how an absolute view of Calvin's rejection has influenced the Reformed churches with respect to its attitude to the papacy. It must be pointed out that Mackenzie's essay is by no means a comprehensive study on Calvin's view. He assumed Calvin's attitude rather than investigated it. But one merit of Mackenzie's essay is that it demonstrates that one cannot bypass Calvin in promoting Reformed-Roman Catholic dialogue. His reasons for rejecting the papacy must be faced in this effort.

Calvin's attitude to Rome is certainly far from simple. Richard Stauffer notes that Calvin's attitude to evangelical Catholicity combined apparently contradictory, and indeed incoherent, elements 'of rigor and of openness, of intransigence and of flexibility.'⁷¹ He approached solving this riddle by pointing out the distinction between fundamental doctrine and secondary doctrine found in Calvin.⁷² Fundamental doctrine refers to 'the doctrine which founds the Church of Christ' (*doctrina qua Ecclesia Christi fundatur*). Stauffer is of the opinion that Calvin did not desire 'to enumerate all the fundamental articles.'⁷³ This is not a weakness in Calvin. Rather it explains his 'surprising openness.' Then Stauffer proceeds to enumerate the conditions of catholicity for Calvin. These can be summarised in two points. First, the principle of *sola scriptura* must be upheld. The second is the priority of the lordship of Christ. These two principles explain Calvin's intransigence against Rome and the Anabaptists on the one hand,⁷⁴ and his openness towards the Lutherans and Zwinglians on the other. Against Rome, he even fights 'with the fiercest energy.'⁷⁵ In conclusion Stauffer writes,

⁶⁹ McDonnell 1967c: 550.

⁷⁰ Mackenzie 1976: 359-167.

⁷¹ Stauffer 1986: 15. Cf. also Stauffer 1970: 1-17.

⁷² One can see his indebtedness to Ganoczy's discovery of Calvin's christological and scriptural motives in his understanding of Catholicity. Stauffer 1970: 14.

⁷³ Stauffer 1986: 17.

⁷⁴ Stauffer 1986: 21.

⁷⁵ Stauffer 1986: 20.

Evangelical catholicity as Calvin conceived of it implies limits and even anathemas. The 16th century is a period of tearing apart and of rupture where the organic unity of the body of Christ is definitively compromised. The Genevan reformer was a man of his time. He did not think otherwise than his contemporaries. His total obedience to that which he held to be truth motivated him to consider as more or less inevitable the division which appears to us as scandalous and intolerable.⁷⁶

However, Calvin's intransigence against Rome is no obstacle to ecumenical progress today. In his 1970 article, Stauffer also pointed out that 'notre fidélité à l'enseignement de Calvin nous incite aujourd'hui au dialogue avec nos frères de l'Eglise romaine.'⁷⁷ At the same time, one must recognise that in any dialogue with Rome, Calvin's scriptural and christological principles continue to be relevant for this exchange.⁷⁸ Stauffer's explanation of the foundation of Calvin's evangelical Catholicity in general, and his attitude to Rome in particular, appears to be very commendable. However, it remains to be determined if Calvin did enumerate the fundamental articles in details and how far Calvin was intractable toward these articles. The answer to these two questions may illuminate the reasons for Calvin's rejection of the papacy.

On the other hand, Danielle Fischer's article deserves attention as well. Fischer covers the thought of Luther and Calvin in their views on the ministries and unity of the church. Again, with regard to Calvin's view, Fischer's study is based chiefly on his *Institutes*.⁷⁹ Fischer's one contribution lies in the observation given to Calvin's *concessio* in his criticism of the primacy of the pope.⁸⁰ After studying Calvin's hypothetical concession and his interpretation of the fathers on the papacy,⁸¹ Fischer arrives at the surprising conclusion that Calvin's thought comes closer to the Catholic doctrine of papal power without acknowledging it.⁸² This conclusion is based on Fischer's belief that Calvin was ready to make the most daring concession on the condition that the bishop of Rome should perform his pastoral duties. In a sense, Fischer's conclusion does not depart from Ganoczy's insight on Calvin's emphasis on the pastoral responsibilities of the bishop of Rome. However, the

⁷⁶ Stauffer 1986: 22.

⁷⁷ Stauffer 1970: 17.

⁷⁸ Stauffer 1970: 16.

⁷⁹ Unfortunately, I could not obtain Fischer's PhD thesis ('La polemique anti-Romaine dans l'Institution de la Religion Chrestienne de Jean Calvin.'). I waited in vain for one year and then was told by the librarian that Strasbourg University would not send a copy to Edinburgh.

⁸⁰ We shall pay close attention to this rhetorical device later in our study of the 1543 *Institutio*.

⁸¹ Fischer 1985: 20-24.

⁸² Fischer (1985: 44): 'La pensée de Calvin nous a paru intéressante parce qu'elle se rapproche de la doctrine catholique du pouvoir pontifical sans l'avouer. Nous sommes persuadée que le Réformateur n'en combat que les caricatures.'

purpose of Calvin's *concessio* is still open to discussion. Did Calvin's *concessio* rhetoric signal his conditional rejection or acceptance of the papacy in his time? This again may relate to the kind of papacy Calvin could accept in history, if there ever was one, and the extent of his acceptance of that papacy. Moreover, Calvin's demand that the bishop of Rome should perform his pastoral duties should deserve closer examination in order to determine the real tension between Calvin and Rome and hence the reason of his ultimate rejection of the papacy in his time.

Another two essays on Calvin's view of the papacy come from Von Heribert Schützeichel. In 1987, Schützeichel published 'Calvins Kritik der Biblischen Begründung des Papstamtes.'⁸³ This essay was written against the background of the renewed interest in the anti-papal polemic of the Reformation. Schützeichel attempts to sketch the picture of the pope in the eyes of the Genevan reformer and to examine his critique of the biblical foundation of the papacy. Again, his study is based mainly on Calvin's *Institutes*, supplemented by his Commentaries. Schützeichel summarises Calvin's attitude succinctly: 'Calvin verwarf entschieden und scharf das Papsttum.'⁸⁴ Calvin saw in the pope a tyrant, an apostate, and the Antichrist. The primacy of the pope, which replaced Christ's leadership in the whole church, had no foundation in the Holy Scripture. Yet Schützeichel shares Ganoczy's view that the deepest reason for this rejection is that the pope has misappropriated the pastoral service. All other reasons are less crucial.⁸⁵ Although Calvin admitted Peter to have a special honour among the Apostles, he rejected categorically the claim that Peter had the power to rule over all others.⁸⁶ Commenting on Calvin's use of Pauline references, Schützeichel admits that Calvin rightly saw that the office of the pope has no foundation in Ephesians 4: 1-16. However, he comments that Calvin was being 'unhistorical' in his judgment⁸⁷ to the effect that Calvin did not allow the development of the papacy in the church in history.⁸⁸ He also argues that one can, based on the same biblical text, come to the conviction that Christ is with the church through the office of the pope just as his presence is felt through all the offices of the church. The office of the pope, like all offices in the church, may serve to promote

⁸³ Schützeichel 1987: 42-63.

⁸⁴ Schützeichel 1987: 61.

⁸⁵ Schützeichel (1987: 46): 'Calvin lehnte das Papsttum entschieden ab. Der tiefste Grund dafür war die, wie er meinte, Veruntreuung des Hirtendienstes durch den Papst. Alle anderen Gründe scheinen daneben weniger ausschlaggebend.'

⁸⁶ Schützeichel (1987: 52): 'Aber der Reformator lehnt es entschieden ab, aus dieser Sonderstellung des Petrus eine Gewalt oder Herrschaft (potestas, imperium) über andere abzuleiten.'

⁸⁷ Schützeichel (1987: 59): 'Auf der anderen Seite verrät es ungeschichtliches Denken, das die Entwicklung nicht in Rechnung setzt, wenn man in der Zeit der Abfassung des Epheserbriefes schon eine systematische und vollständige Aufzählung aller Einheitsfaktoren der Kirche erwartet.'

⁸⁸ Schützeichel 1987: 59.

the unity of the church.⁸⁹ Moreover, Vatican II made the primacy of jurisdiction of the pope more acceptable when it affirmed the collegiality of bishops as well as the nature of the church as communion.⁹⁰

Schützeichel's second essay, 'Das Altkirchliche Papsttum in der Sicht Calvins', is a continuation of the first.⁹¹ Whereas he commented in the first essay that Calvin's thinking was being 'unhistorical,' now he turns to Calvin's view of the ancient papacy. Again, this essay is written with the realisation that the papal office is a main subject in the present ecumenical dialogue. He rightly saw that a discussion of the papal office must take into consideration the development of the Roman primacy. The beginning of this essay reiterates his view about Calvin's attitude: 'Calvin verwarf entschieden und scharf das Papsttum.'⁹² Then he proceeds to examine Calvin's explanations of the early history of the church and the bishops of Rome. He discusses these subjects treated in the *Institutes*: the special prestige of the church of Rome, the bishop of Rome and the ancient councils, the titles of the pope, the ancient church '*communio*', the power of the Roman see, Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, Rome and Constantinople. The main point Schützeichel makes is that Calvin saw the Roman bishop as '*unus ex praecipuis*'. But he could not find in the ancient time the same Roman primacy as it developed in the Middle Ages.⁹³ He mentioned '*communio*' several times in the ancient church and highly regarded the '*moderatio*' in the practice of two of the popes. Although Leo I was an ambitious person, he still maintained his *moderatio* and did not assert his authority over other metropolitan bishops. In Gregory the Great, there was certainly no unrestrained dominance. The power of Gregory was displayed in humility, and was used to oppose the errors of stubborn people. In response to Calvin's main thesis that papal primacy has no basis in the ancient church, Schützeichel made three comments. First, he maintains his view of Calvin's 'ungeschichtlich denken.' Calvin neglected the fact of the development of the papacy. The papacy in fact developed from unclear and embryonic beginning into the full form, and should be evaluated or appreciated from this perspective. Secondly, Schützeichel is of the opinion that he who accepts a papal office in the church in his belief will read the testimonies of the ancient church differently from the one who from the start disputes the validity of the papal office. Thirdly, the history of the ancient church should stimulate us to rethink the visible representation of the '*communio ecclesiarum*', to reconsider the names and titles

⁸⁹ Schützeichel 1987: 59.

⁹⁰ Schützeichel 1987: 63.

⁹¹ Schützeichel 1989: 31-53.

⁹² Schützeichel 1989: 31.

⁹³ Schützeichel 1989: 53.

appropriate to the office of pope, and to value the '*moderatio*' in the exercise of the Roman papacy. Schützeichel's exposition is a great piece of work. On the other hand, one wonders if Schützeichel's critique of Calvin was valid and entirely without his own assumption. Schützeichel presupposed the development of the papacy as something to be accepted. At any rate, significant as his investigation is, Schützeichel's study is limited in scope. It does not display the history of Calvin's thinking of the papacy, which is something to be called for in this thesis.

John Hesselink goes as far as saying that 'despite his antipathy to the "papists" and his irritation with their attacks against Protestants, Calvin did not resort to continual anti-Roman polemics. He had more important and more constructive things to do.'⁹⁴ Hesselink's opinion is startling. It remains to be proved that Calvin's polemic against Rome was not a long-term preoccupation. Again, this can only be settled by a study of the history of Calvin's polemic with Rome. What deserves our attention in Hesselink's essay is that he raises the issue of the criteria for unity for Calvin. Although he admits that 'there were also limits to Calvin's tolerance,' and that 'peace in the church was a pearl of great price, but not peace at any price,'⁹⁵ Hesselink nevertheless is of the opinion that 'Calvin's list of essential or fundamental doctrines is surprisingly slim.'⁹⁶ This is another sweeping statement by Hesselink. In his study, the bottom line in ecumenical efforts is oneness in faith, which consists especially of the person of Christ, and this doctrinal bottom line must be coupled with another dimension: love.⁹⁷ One can observe that scholars today are trying to re-examine Calvin's rejection of Rome in the hope that the effort can be conducive to continual dialogue for today. Yet this effort is still piecemeal and one awaits a more comprehensive study of Calvin's attitude to the papacy.

Marc Lienhard's analysis, the latest study on Calvin's view of the papacy to date, should be noted as well. In his '*Les réformateurs protestants du XVI^e siècle et la papauté*' Lienhard analysed four reformers' views of the papacy.⁹⁸ These were Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin. The section on Calvin was based exclusively on Calvin's 1559 *Institutes*. In two short pages, this covers Calvin's treatment of the Petrine texts, his use of Cyprian's *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate* (ch. IV), Peter's primacy of honour among the Apostles, the position of the bishop of Rome in the Council of Nicea.⁹⁹ It appears that Lienhard's brief description is

⁹⁴ Hesselink 1990: 106.

⁹⁵ Hesselink 1990: 113.

⁹⁶ Hesselink 1990: 110. Is this Stauffer (1986: 17)'s influence?

⁹⁷ Hesselink 1990: 112.

⁹⁸ Lienhard 1998: 157-73.

⁹⁹ Lienhard 1998: 171-2.

basically accurate. But the conclusion to the whole essay shows that Lienhard's interpretation of Calvin's view on the above topics is too imprecise and biased by a dominant ecumenical good will. Thus the author wrote that although the reformers rejected the form that the papacy had taken during the past centuries, they did not exclude a reformed papacy. Such a papacy would occupy a primacy of honour within the college of bishops, and exercise the pastoral responsibility faithful to the authority of the Holy Scripture.¹⁰⁰ This conclusion is too brief as to be able to do justice to the positions of the reformers reviewed. It certainly cannot reflect fully Calvin's view of the papacy as developed throughout his career as a reformer. One key question is: what does it mean to exercise the pastoral responsibility? Was Calvin's demand for a faithful pastoral office only pastoral in nature, or did it involve doctrinal faithfulness as well? If the latter is included, the ecumenical task could be even more immense.

The above review is representative of the fact that most studies on Calvin and the papacy are motivated by the concern for ecumenical dialogue in the twentieth century. Adrian Arnold Helleman's PhD thesis in 1992, 'John Calvin on Papal Primacy: His Critique of the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome in the Light of the Pre-Reformation Tradition and the Contemporary Ecumenical Dialogues,'¹⁰¹ is written out of this same concern.¹⁰² Helleman attempts 'to determine whether he [Calvin] can make a positive contribution to a future Reformed-Roman Catholic dialogue on this topic.'¹⁰³ Helleman's major concern was to determine whether Calvin's rejection of papal primacy is conditional or absolute. Helleman argues that

although there has been a long standing and widely held belief that Calvin rejected the papacy absolutely, there is also evidence for a conditional interpretation.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Lienhard (1998: 172): 'Ainsi, tout en rejetant la forme que la papauté avait prise au cours des siècles, les Réformateurs n'excluent pas une papauté rénovée. De type pastoral, une telle papauté pourrait, au sein du collège des évêques, avoir une primauté d'honneur et être une sorte de porte-parole. A condition, bien sûr, d'exercer son ministère dans la fidélité à l'autorité de l'Écriture Sainte.'

¹⁰¹ Helleman 1992.

¹⁰² See also Helleman's article in Helleman (1994: 432-50). It is curious how Helleman divides the development of Calvin's writings on papal primacy chronologically into these four periods: (1) 1536—'The Pope Usurps Christ's Place as King of the Church,' (2) 1539—'The Papal Church is not the True Church,' (3) 1543—'The Rise of "Papism",' (4) 1559—'The Role of Peter and Primacy of Rome.' To classify Calvin's critique according to the four Latin editions of his *Institutes* is a mechanical treatment, without doing justice to the character of Calvin's development at each stage. The rise of the so-called 'papism' is only part of Calvin's critique in the 1543 *Institutio*. In fact, it is in this edition that Calvin concentrated his gunpowder on the role of Peter and primacy of Rome, whereas the 1559 *Institutio* provides no significant new information on Calvin's critique of the pope.

¹⁰³ Helleman 1992: 6.

¹⁰⁴ Helleman 1992: 368.

He even asserted that this in fact is the only possible interpretation.¹⁰⁵ Calvin's contribution lies not in the specific details of either his biblical exegesis or his view of the development of papal primacy, but rather in the principles of ministry extracted from his writings. Helleman divided his thesis into three parts. Part One is an historical introduction, which is subdivided into two chapters (Chapters 2-3). The first chapter deals with the ecclesiastical context, which is a sketch of historical development of the papacy. The second chapter deals with the ecclesial context, which is a brief summary of the popes in Calvin's lifetime. Helleman argues that 'knowing more about them may assist us in an eventual determination of the precise nature of this rejection of the papacy.'¹⁰⁶ He poses the question,

Was Calvin's rejection motivated by the concept of papal primacy as such or by the immoral lifestyle and the teaching of some of these Popes?¹⁰⁷

The weakness of these two chapters is that the author never went beyond a sketchy description, whether of the historical development of the papacy, or the portraits of the popes in Calvin's time.

Part Two is a presentation of Calvin's critique of papal primacy. It sets out to examine Calvin's major works relating to his critique of papal primacy. Helleman adopts a genetic-historical approach to trace 'the development of Calvin's thinking on the papacy through the five periods which correspond with the original five major Latin editions of his *opus magnum*, the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.'¹⁰⁸ Presumably, Helleman's aim is comprehensiveness, attempting to cover all of Calvin's works. In reality, this is an unattainable goal, as Helleman does not even cover Calvin's sermons or letters. On the other hand, his treatment of each work becomes brief running commentaries. The five periods were rigidly defined by the five major Latin editions of Calvin's *Institutes*.

Part Three deals with the ecumenical perspective. This covers two chapters (Chapters 9-10). The first is a re-examination of papal primacy in the twentieth century. It deals with three main issues in the Lutheran-Roman Catholic dialogue and the Anglican-Roman Catholic dialogue. These are Petrine primacy, Petrine succession, and Petrine ministry. The second chapter is the conclusion. Helleman first concluded his findings regarding the nature of Calvin's rejection of the papacy. His point is that Calvin's rejection of the papacy is conditional in nature. In the last

¹⁰⁵ Helleman 1992: 368.

¹⁰⁶ Helleman 1992: 11.

¹⁰⁷ Helleman 1992: 11.

¹⁰⁸ Helleman 1992: 11. In fact, we will query whether we can divide Calvin's career as a reformer or a polemicist as neatly or tidily as that.

section of the same concluding chapter, Helleman enumerated five principles which in his opinion Calvin could contribute to a future Reformed-Roman Catholic dialogue on papal primacy. These five principles of Calvin's are: a delegated ministry, a pastoral ministry, a communal ministry, a collegial ministry, and a personal ministry. Surprisingly, Helleman does not touch on the doctrinal responsibility of the pastoral ministry which Calvin had emphasised time and again in his critique of the Roman bishop.

For our purpose here we will discuss Helleman's contention that Calvin's rejection of the papal primacy is not absolute but conditional.

To begin with, the two chapters on ecclesiastical context and ecclesial context warrant some comments. Pointing out the significance of chapter 2, he writes:

Although there has been a long standing and widely held belief that Calvin rejected the papacy absolutely, there is also evidence for a conditional interpretation, as we shall see. These, in fact, are the only possible interpretations. But which of them is correct? This is what makes Chapter 2 so significant: it serves to set the stage by illustrating both the complex and at times controversial development of papal primacy and also the amazing variety of views on this subject which were displayed through the centuries. Many critics of the papacy, before and during the Reformation did not reject the institution *per se*; using the terminology of Karl Barth and others, their criticism was concerned with not the 'Daß' but only the 'Wie' of the papal office. *Thus, if Calvin is viewed as standing in a long line of critics of the medieval and renaissance papacy, his objections should be able to be interpreted in a similar fashion as well*¹⁰⁹ (italics mine).

The last statement is questionable. It seems that Helleman has assumed *a priori* that the opinions and attitudes of the 'long line of critics of the medieval and renaissance papacy' are quite homogeneous. One wonders if he has neglected other development of opinions regarding the papacy in this history. Even if the rejection of the papacy by the critics before Calvin stayed within the category of conditional rejection, does it warrant that Calvin is just one among them? Helleman never proves this point. Moreover, can there be real development unique to Calvin other than conditional rejection? This question can only be determined by a study of Calvin's own works as a whole. At the very least one cannot assume that Calvin shared the opinion of critics before him who held conditional rejection of the papacy, and then proceed to read his works in the light of this assumption. Otherwise we will only prove what we have assumed. Helleman does not set out to prove that Calvin is but one in the same line of critics of the medieval and renaissance papacy. Thus his opinion regarding Calvin and the medieval and renaissance critics remains an assumption. Moreover, rather than assuming that Calvin stood in the long line of the critics of the medieval and

¹⁰⁹ Helleman 1992: 368.

renaissance papacy, one should also look at Calvin's contemporaries and the historical situations of Calvin's ecumenical activities. For these two Luther and the colloquies of 1540-41 immediately come to mind.¹¹⁰

As concerns the chapter on ecclesial context, Helleman already hints that Calvin's rejection was motivated not by the concept of papal primacy as such but by the immoral lifestyles and teachings of some of these popes. Thus in the abstract of his thesis he wrote that Calvin was not rejecting papal primacy *per se* but rather the sort of primacy with which he was familiar. Helleman's idea is challengeable. For it appears that Calvin was indeed rejecting papal primacy *per se*, which traces the foundation of the papal office to the Petrine texts and Petrine succession and sees the pope as the Vicar of Christ and the head of the church.

Helleman also points out that Calvin had a genuine pastoral motivation. Calvin regarded the bishop of Rome as the greatest threat to the evangelical churches. Thus Calvin termed him 'Antichrist.' Now the question is that even if the popes in Calvin's time were 'bad popes,' and Calvin was motivated by a pastoral concern to refute them, does it necessarily mean that he rejected them only conditionally and not absolutely? Furthermore, should we preclude the possibility of a rejection peculiar to Calvin which was absolute in nature during his career? Bad popes in Calvin's time do not necessarily warrant us to suppose that Calvin's rejection was conditional. Arguably, Calvin might be motivated by the character and teaching of the popes he knew of, but it does not mean that his rejection could not be anything less than absolute. On the contrary, it is possible that Calvin might be motivated by the life styles and teachings of the popes and then proceed to reject the papacy, even rejecting it absolutely. There can be real change or development from motivation to the final construction of a polemic theology. Thus the question must not be decided by who and what the popes were but by a serious effort made on a study of the history of Calvin's polemic in this respect.

Helleman also made use of the term 'papism' used by Calvin to support his argument for conditional rejection. In the text he writes:

Because of its importance for the concluding chapter of our study, note especially his use of the term 'papism' (papismo) in the following passage: 'Since conditions are such under papism, one can understand how much of the church remains there. Instead of the ministry of the Word, a perverse institution compounded of lies rules there. The foulest sacrilege has been introduced in place of the Lord's

¹¹⁰ Luther's influence can be established by Pettegree (2000: 117)'s remarks: 'In 1519 the Basle printer Johann Froben published a collected Latin edition of Luther's works, for which he found an immediate demand as far as Paris, the Low Countries, Spain and England. The circulation of Luther's works in Latin was soon followed by local reprints of both Latin works and translations into local vernaculars.' See also Moeller 1987: 235-51.

Supper. The worship of God has been deformed by a diverse and unbearable mass of superstitions. Doctrine (apart from which Christianity cannot stand) has been entirely buried and driven out. Public assemblies have become schools of idolatry and ungodliness. In withdrawing deadly participation in so many misdeeds, there is accordingly no danger that we be snatched away from the church of Christ.¹¹¹

In the conclusion he returns to comment on this point again:

Calvin's rejection of the papacy is conditional. What he rejects absolutely is what we will term, 'papism'... 'Papism' is the sum of all those aspects of the papacy that Calvin knew which are at odds with the Word of God.¹¹²

Note that Helleman made a distinction between 'papism' and 'papacy,' as if to suggest that Calvin had no problem with papacy *per se* but only with a form of the papacy which Helleman called as 'papism,' after Calvin. Thus he summarized in the abstract that Calvin was

not rejecting papal primacy *per se* but rather the sort of primacy with which he was familiar... Calvin is actually rejecting what it calls 'papism,' a term which Calvin himself uses (*papismo*).¹¹³

There are a few points to note. First, Helleman does not define in concrete terms what this papism actually consists of. To describe papism in such general terms is to evade the whole issue of Calvin's real reason(s) for rejecting the papacy. In fact, by his own words, Helleman's understanding of papism is inaccurate. A standard translation for *papismus* is 'popery,'¹¹⁴ which is also what the word papism should refer. It is a derogatory term to describe the papacy rather than to identify a particular form of the papacy for rejection.¹¹⁵ *Papismus* or popery effectively conveys Calvin's abhorrence of the papacy proper.

Secondly, and this is very important as well, the term *papismus* first appears in the 1539 *Institutio* and only twice,¹¹⁶ whereas for most of the time in this same edition Calvin invariably used *papa* in his criticism.¹¹⁷ In the 1543 edition, *papismus* occurs four times,¹¹⁸ two of which have been in the 1539 edition.¹¹⁹ Again, elsewhere

¹¹¹ Helleman 1992: 158. The text Helleman quotes is from the *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.2.2.; CO 1. 553.

¹¹² Helleman 1992: 397.

¹¹³ The pronoun 'it' quoted here is Helleman's exact word in his abstract. Note also that Helleman did not use the nominative *papismus* in his quotation. *Papismo* is ablative or dative.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, the entry on 'pap/a,' in *RMLWL* 331.

¹¹⁵ Thus, in Battle's translation of *Institutes* (1559), *papismus* is just translated as 'popery.'

¹¹⁶ *Institutio* (1539): 147: 'In eum modum quum res habeat sub *papismo*, intelligere licet quid Ecclesiae illic supersit;' *Institutio* (1539): 278: 'Id autem aliquot seculis factitatum quis neget, hodieque ubicunque *papismus* viget, factitari?'

¹¹⁷ The calculation is based on Richard F. Wevers' John Calvin's *Institutes* 1539 Search Routines (Grand Rapids: Calvin College).

¹¹⁸ Apart from searching the 1543 text, Wever's John Calvin's *Institutes* 1559 Latin—English Combination Search Routines (Grand Rapids: Calvin College) provides useful help.

Calvin just used *papa* or *papatus* in his criticism. In the 1559 *Institutio* he kept the four passages in which he used the term *papismus* in the 1539 and 1543 editions.¹²⁰ But here in this final edition the term *papatus* is used 19 times, most of which were used in the context where Calvin attacked the papacy most severely.¹²¹ The evidence

¹¹⁹ The other two occurrences in *Institutio* (1543) are: 'Quod si quis totam hanc gubernationis Ecclesiasticae faciem quae hodie sub *papismo* est, rite perpendat ac excutiat, reperiet nullum esse spoliarium, in quo licentiosius sine lege et modo latrones grassentur' (p.185); and 'Nam sicuti ad plenam doctrinae nostrae approbationem et totius *papismi* eversionem abunde verbo Domini instructi sumus, ut nihil praeterea requirere magnopere opus sit: si res flagitet, magna ex parte quod satis sit ad utrunque, vetera Concilia nobis subministrant' (p. 216).

¹²⁰ This is based on Richard F. Wevers' John Calvin's Institutes 1559 Latin—English Combination Search Routines (Grand Rapids: Calvin College).

¹²¹ *Institutio* (1599): 4.1.1.: 'Quare postulat docendi ratio ut nunc de Ecclesia eiusque regimine, ordinibus, potestate, item de sacramentis tractemus, et postremo de politico etiam ordine: ac simul pios lectores revocemus a corruptelis, quibus Satan in *papatu* adulteravit quaecunque Deus in salutem nostram destinaverat.'

Institutio (1599): 4.4.0.: 'De statu veteris Ecclesiae et ratione gubernandi quae in usu fuit ante *papatum*.'

Institutio (1599): 4.5.0.: 'Antiquam regiminis formam omnino pessundatam fuisse tyrannide *papatus*.'

Institutio (1599): 4.5.2.: 'Si haec vera sunt, nulla hodie neque divino neque Ecclesiastico iure, Canonica electio in toto *papatu* superest.'

Institutio (1599): 4.5.6.: 'Sic contendo: vix centesimum quodque beneficium hodie in *papatu* sine simonia conferri: qualiter simoniam veteres definierunt.'

Institutio (1599): 4.7.0.: 'De exordio et incrementis Romani *papatus*, donec se in hanc altitudinem extulit qua et Ecclesiae libertas oppressa, et omnis moderatio eversa fuit.'

Institutio (1599): 4.7.19.: 'Iam vero ut Romano Pontifici hodie concedamus eminentiam illam et iurisdictionis amplitudinem quam mediis temporibus, ut Leonis et Gregorii, habuit haec sedes, quid hoc ad praesentem *papatum*?'

Institutio (1599): 4.7.20.: 'Atqui haec sunt oracula ex quibus volunt Romanenses *papatum* suum aestimari.'

Institutio (1599): 4.7.20.: 'Hinc orta sunt praeclara illa axiomata, quae vim oraculorum passim hodie in *papatu* obtinent, Papam errare non posse, Papam esse superiorem conciliis, Papam esse universalem omnium Ecclesiarum Episcopum et summum in terris Ecclesiae caput.'

Institutio (1599): 4.7.22.: 'ecquid pudeat ipsos praesentem statum *papatus* defendere: quem constat centuplo corruptiorem esse quam Gregorii et Bernardi seculis fuerit: qui tamen tunc sanctis illis viris tantopere displicebat.'

Institutio (1599): 4.7.22.: 'Si administratio illius temporis mare fuit: quid de praesenti *papatu* dicendum erit?'

Institutio (1599): 4.7.22.: 'Quae ista est improbitas, non modo pertinaciter tueri velut sacrosanctum ac divinum, quod uno ore sancti omnes semper improbarunt: sed eorum quoque testimonio abuti ad defensionem *papatus*, quem constat fuisse illis prorsus incognitum?'

Institutio (1599): 4.7.25.: 'Ac nequis obiiciat, nos Pauli verba, quae alio pertineant, perperam torquere in Romanum Pontificem, breviter ostendam non aliter quam de *papatu* posse intelligi.'

Institutio (1599): 4.7.26.: 'Neque hic accuso hominum vitia: sed *papatum* ipsum ex diametro cum Ecclesiastica ratione pugnare demonstro.'

Institutio (1599): 4.8.0.: 'De potestate Ecclesiae quoad fidei dogmata: et quam effraeni licentia ad vitiandam omnem doctrinae puritatem tracta fuerit in *papatu*.'

Institutio (1599): 4.10.6.: 'Tales autem sunt quae hodie vocantur Ecclesiasticae constitutiones in *papatu*, quae pro vero ac necessario Dei cultu ingeruntur.'

Institutio (1599): 4.10.15.: 'Quae autem in usu sunt caeremoniae sub *papatu*, a doctrina separantur, ut homines in signis omni significatione carentibus retineant.'

Institutio (1599): 4.11.0.: 'De Ecclesiae iurisdictione, eiusque abusu, qualis cernitur in *papatu*.'

Institutio (1599): 4.17.42.: 'Nunc iudicare promptum est qualis sit haec quae in *papatu* regnat doctrina, et a quo autore profecta sit, quae miseros peccatores et trepidatione moestitiaque afflictos,

is just so overwhelming that one must conclude that the object of Calvin's attack is the *papatus* proper and the word *papismus* is used in a derogatory sense to describe the *papatus* in his fierce criticism.

One other point deserves a final comment. In the conclusion of his thesis, Helleman brings forth the discussion of the Petrine texts used by Calvin as a final support for the theory of conditional rejection.

Calvin's refutation of the Petrine basis for the claim of papal primacy is crucial. If he *can* refute the claim of a Petrine primacy, then his rejection of papacy must be interpreted in an absolute sense. While there are several possible reasons for asserting an absolute interpretation, *this one is, no doubt, the most damaging*. If he *can* prove Christ did not institute a Petrine ministry, there can be no basis for a papal primacy which is of divine origin¹²² (italics mine).

This is a most curious comment. Rejecting papal primacy absolutely or conditionally is a matter of attitude. It is not based on whether Calvin could reject the Petrine basis of papal primacy. Calvin might reject the papacy absolutely, even though his arguments (whether theological or biblical) for this rejection were found to be insufficient or even invalid to achieve his subjective purpose. Part of the historian's task is to determine whether Calvin held the attitude of absolutely rejecting the papacy, and then inquire into the kind of arguments and reasonings he used. He may comment on whether Calvin succeeded in rejecting papal primacy. But it is not legitimate for him to make the assertion that since Calvin could not successfully refute the claim of a Petrine primacy, therefore Calvin did not actually reject the pope's primacy absolutely.

The conclusion of this brief review is that there remains a need to give Calvin's critique of the papacy a fuller study. Although some scholars have shed light on Calvin's thinking on the papacy, a more comprehensive study on the development of Calvin's thought on this issue is still much desired. It is not enough, for example, to focus on a few of Calvin's works. Even his *Institutes*, important as it is, cannot represent the whole of his thinking on the papacy. In fact Calvin's thought as recorded in the successive editions of his *Institutes* cannot be abstracted from their historical contexts and origins. Moreover, in order to give a faithful description and interpretation of Calvin's thought, one should make effort to disentangle oneself from one's ecumenical presupposition. Helleman's PhD dissertation, apart from being fraught with some critical interpretive problems, cannot escape from the author's ecumenical bias either. It becomes clear as one reads the thesis that

huius Sacramenti consolatione immani sua austeritate orbat et spoliatur: in quo tamen omnes Evangelii deliciae illis proponebantur.'

¹²² Helleman, 391.

Helleman actually began with the assumption that Calvin's rejection of the papacy was not absolute and then distorted Calvin's thought at some critical points as he proceeded with his study. A more secure way is to trace the development of Calvin's critique of the papacy and pay close attention to unraveling his thought in each stage. Accurate description of Calvin's thought is needed before one gives one's interpretation. This is what this thesis is attempting to do.

1.4. Approach of the Study

A word on the approach to be taken is in order. At the outset, it must be pointed out that it is impossible within a PhD research project to survey all of Calvin's works. For example, it is almost an impossible task to dig into all of Calvin's sermons in order to determine everything he ever said on the papacy.¹²³ As the scope of this study is clearly defined by the purpose stated above, it is best to focus our effort chiefly on Calvin's polemical writings. This provides us a compass to utilise Calvin's works. It is a reasonable working assumption to steer our survey mainly along these works, as this will allow us to follow the chronological sequence and polemical contexts in which Calvin found himself. His other main categories of writings—commentaries, lectures, sermons, and letters—will be used only selectively. In fact, the present researcher has, as a preliminary attempt, searched through the English translation of Calvin's commentaries and lectures and found little new information (compared to his polemical writings) on his view of the papacy. But one thing I did find. The Commentary on Romans, the first commentary Calvin wrote, which came off the press in Strasbourg in March 1540, contains no criticism of the papacy. This is a surprising discovery. If Calvin wanted to criticise the papacy, Romans could furnish him with a very good opportunity. But at most Calvin only mentioned the 'papists',¹²⁴ seven times, rejecting their teaching on sin in the regenerate,¹²⁵ their philosophy,¹²⁶ their teaching on merits, their forced terror on the people of God,¹²⁷ their Mass,¹²⁸ their practice of kissing the paten,¹²⁹ and finally, their pretext of peace and unity which was described by Calvin as 'a union in lies and

¹²³ Writing on the sermons of Calvin, Parker (1965: 197) comments, 'We are therefore left with a large number of manuscript volumes whose contents were never printed.' Even today, 'the gold volumes of the *Supplementa Calviniana*' (Parker 1965: 201) have not been completed yet.

¹²⁴ Hendrix (1981: 105) remarks that in 1520, Luther spoke repeatedly of 'Romanists' in the *Address to the Christian Nobility*, and, 'for the first time in the afterword to Prierias's *Epitome*, of "papists."' 'The use of both terms betrays how wide the gulf has become between the Roman curia and the papacy, on the one side, and Luther's conception of the church, on the other.'

¹²⁵ CTS *Comm.* Rom. 7: 7.

¹²⁶ CTS *Comm.* Rom. 8: 9.

¹²⁷ CTS *Comm.* Rom. 12: 1.

¹²⁸ CTS *Comm.* Rom. 12: 16.

¹²⁹ CTS *Comm.* Rom. 16: 16.

impious doctrines'¹³⁰—this last point clearly reflects the context of Sadoletto's letter which was an attempt to persuade the Genevan people to return to the Catholic Church. Then the whole picture changed dramatically with his commentaries on 1 and 2 Corinthians (1546), in which Calvin on many occasions criticised the pope violently, accusing the tyranny¹³¹ and wickedness¹³² of the pope, using the derogatory term 'popery' to describe his papacy,¹³³ and ridiculing his dominion over the whole world,¹³⁴ etc. The change in Calvin's focus can only be properly explained by his participation in the colloquies of the 1540-41 and his subsequent writing of the 1543 *Institutio*. Therefore, it is more valuable to go into his anti-Roman Catholic writings and look into the polemical contexts in order to follow the development of his thinking.¹³⁵

Scholars have long been aware of Calvin's polemical writings, and they group these works accordingly.¹³⁶ However, even among these polemical works not all are relevant to our subject. Higman has grouped Calvin's polemical works into four groups:

1. Controversies with Rome and Imperial Authorities (against Rome and Empires)
2. Against the Radicals
3. Against the Compromisers
4. Doctrines (Sacraments, Trinity, Predestination)¹³⁷

Apparently, group 1 is most relevant to our study. Group 2, however, is not relevant. On the other hand, two works in group 3, namely, the *Epistolae duae* (1537) and *Responsio ad versipellem quendam mediatorem* (1561), turn out to be informative. Basically, the works in group 4 do not bear on our study. There is no need to list all of the relevant works here, as they will be discussed one by one later. What needs to be said is that the successive editions of Calvin's *Institutes* do not fall into any of the above groups, yet they are important in a very significant way, as they soon became Calvin's theological platform to engage *disputationes* with the papacy. However,

¹³⁰ CTS *Comm.* Rom. 16: 17.

¹³¹ CTS *Comm.* 1 Cor. 5: 11.

¹³² CTS *Comm.* 1 Cor. 7: 37.

¹³³ CTS *Comm.* 1 Cor. 9: 5.

¹³⁴ CTS *Comm.* 1 Cor. 9: 5.

¹³⁵ Although development, as Höpfl (1985: 67) points out in another context, 'carries connotations of the autonomous unfolding of potentialities,' 'Calvin's own experience,' Höpfl emphatically writes, 'is crucial.' This is all the more true in the unfolding of Calvin's critique of papacy throughout his career. To follow the polemical context is important for an understanding of Calvin's critique.

¹³⁶ See Appendice III which lists 'Les traités polémiques en ordre chronologique' in Gilmont 1997: 377-8; the Appendix in Higman 1997: 136-7; de Greef 1989: 149-64.

¹³⁷ Higman 1997: 136-7.

again there is no need to employ all of them. We will utilise them in detail only up to the 1543 *Institutio*, as the later editions did not add significant information to our subject. Some early ecclesiastical writings are also useful, as these can inform us of some of his earliest theological presuppositions as well as embedded attitude towards the papacy. As for Calvin's letters and commentaries, including a few of his sermons, we need only to refer to them as occasions arise.

Another important point to note is that since the purpose is to trace Calvin's polemic in stages, it is important to place these works along their historical sequence. The chronology provides the developmental framework. Thus, the rule is that later works should not be used in the discussion of earlier ones, although in the course of the investigation we may point out how an earlier work may relate to the later ones. At the same time, we shall pay close attention to Calvin's theological view at each phase of his works. This is important because we do not want to give just general summaries of Calvin's opinions in each stage. Our aim is to study what exactly Calvin said and how he presented it. Thus at some points we have to present his arguments in some details, as, for example, in the 1543 *Institutio*. This is the best way to allow Calvin to speak for himself.

Apart from paying close attention to an analysis of Calvin's view as well as the historical connections of Calvin's critique, this study is alert to the following questions as the examination proceeds:

- The kind of papacy Calvin rejected
- The nature of Calvin's rejection of the papacy
- The reasons for Calvin's rejection of the papacy
- The kind of papacy acceptable to Calvin, if there is any

The answers to these four questions can explain many of the complexities of Calvin's thought on the papacy. We shall give an interpretation to each of them in the conclusion. Moreover, we shall try to draw out the ecumenical implications of Calvin's critique of the papacy at the end of the conclusion. This latter point is not necessary for our thesis because our purpose is historical and theological. But it is a tempting thought to draw out the ecumenical implications of Calvin's thinking after a historical and theological study of this kind. Many have presented an ecumenical Calvin in their own way in the last century. It is right that we try to give one portrait as well after this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LATENT CONFLICTS: EARLY CONCERNS

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter we will examine some of Calvin's earliest works in order to see if there are any traces of his opinions regarding the papacy. To understand and evaluate his mature thinking on the papacy, one has to begin with his earlier opinions. We shall see that there had been latent conflicts in this early stage. These were indirect rather than face to face conflicts. This stage covers two phases. The first refers to the time before Calvin became involved in the ministry in Geneva. The second relates to his earliest ministry in the city. Apart from looking into Calvin's opinions about the papacy at this stage, we will also take note of some of his convictions regarding the faith and ecclesiological ideas. These will turn out to be important in understanding his later conflicts with the papacy.

2.2. Calvin's Prefaces to Olivétan's French Bible (1535)

Calvin's earliest thought can be found in his two prefaces to Olivétan's French Bible translation, which was published on 4 June 1535. Before that Calvin had published a commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia* in 1532, which put him firmly in the ranks of the new humanist learning. At that time, Calvin was already equipped with excellent Latin, knowledge of the elegant and persuasive rhetoric of Cicero, skill in debate and argument and solid legal training.¹³⁸ Before he came to Basel, among the circles of humanists in which he moved in Orléans and Paris he had already come into contact with the new doctrines preached by Luther and Zwingli.¹³⁹ In November 1533, he was implicated in the doctrinal scandal occasioned by the inaugural address by Nicolas Cop, the new Rector of the University of Paris.¹⁴⁰ As a result Calvin was forced to flee Paris. Some believed that the address, which was in effect a manifesto of *évangélique* doctrine, was authored by Calvin.¹⁴¹ McGrath suggests that the address by Nicolas Cop 'was decisively associated with, perhaps even to the point of reflecting, [Calvin's] own religious formation.'¹⁴² He adds,

¹³⁸ See the Introduction in Higman 1970: 4.

¹³⁹ McGrath 1993: 60-4.

¹⁴⁰ For the English translation of the address, see Appendix III in *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 363-372.

¹⁴¹ See the discussion in McGrath 1993: 64-6.

¹⁴² McGrath 1993: 66.

The central question concerning Calvin's religious formation, however, concerns his transition from humanist to reformer.¹⁴³

In a sense this is true. The flight from Paris indicates that Calvin was not just sympathetic to the *évangélique* teaching. He had become personally involved in the conviction of this teaching. In a few years' time he would soon become a reformer for this evangelical cause.¹⁴⁴ The two prefaces that he wrote for Olivétan's French Bible demonstrate that Calvin had arrived on the reformation scene.¹⁴⁵

Pierre Robert Olivétan was a supporter of Luther, who fled France and came to Neuenburg via Strasbourg and Geneva in 1533. He came into contact with the Waldenses, who, at the proposal of Guillaume Farel, supported his translation project on 12 September 1532.¹⁴⁶ At the beginning of 1535, the translation was ready. Calvin was in Basel from January 1535, where he must have kept in contact with his cousin Olivétan. His two prefaces were written at a time when he was writing the first *Institutes*.

The Latin preface appeared only in the edition of 1535, and begins with the greeting *Ioannes Calvinus caesaribus, regibus, principibus, gentibusque omnibus Christi imperio subditis salutem*.¹⁴⁷ The second preface was placed before the New Testament. It was written in French but Calvin's name was associated with it only after 1545. It begins: *Épître a tous amateurs de Iésus Christ, et de son S. Evangile, salut*.¹⁴⁸ That the two prefaces were written in two different languages for the same French Bible may reflect the purposes of Calvin. The Latin preface was not just written for the educated class but also directed to the opponents of the French translation. The second preface was written for the common people who needed the French translation for reading the Scriptures.¹⁴⁹

2.2.1. The Latin Preface

Although this preface is, apparently, written to Emperors, Kings, Princes and to all peoples subject to Christ's rule, the content shows that it was directed especially against those who opposed the translation of the Bible for the people.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ McGrath 1993: 66.

¹⁴⁴ For a discussion of Calvin's conversion, see Parker 1975: 192-6; Ganoczy 1988: 241-312; McGrath 1993: 69-75; Eells 1992: 18-36; Nijenhuis 1994a: 3-23.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. CO 21: 54.

¹⁴⁶ This was during a meeting of the synod in Chanforans, where they also resolved to join the Reformation. See Greenslade 1963: 117-20 and Ganoczy 1988: 91-98.

¹⁴⁷ CO 9: 787-90. For an English translation, see Appendix 4 in *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 373-77.

¹⁴⁸ CO 9: 791-822.

¹⁴⁹ Muller (2000: 23) aptly writes that this letter 'stands as the earliest printed work by Calvin in French and his earliest published theological treatise.'

¹⁵⁰ Ganoczy (1988: 95) suggests that the Sorbonne was intended here by Calvin.

Calvin further identifies them as the 'Rabbis' and 'pastors.' The presupposition behind their arguments was that the Scripture could not be understood by common people. They would become haughty and end up corrupting the truth rather than understand it. They needed to be restrained by obedience rather than by learning. Calvin's concern was the exact opposite of the fear of these people. What Calvin wanted was that 'the faithful people be permitted to hear their God speaking and to learn from [Him] teaching.'¹⁵¹ God also gives wisdom to His children and He pours forth His Spirit so that his people may grow in knowledge of Him.¹⁵² Embedded in his mind was a dynamic view of God's Word and the active presence of God's Spirit as the faithful read the Scripture. Already Calvin's words show that at this early stage he believed in the sufficiency and clarity of Scripture.¹⁵³ That explains why later on he could use Scripture to oppose the papacy fiercely and even do away with the teaching *magisterium* of the papacy.

Apart from using Scripture to refute his opponents Calvin also made use of the fathers eloquently, both of which would become his characteristic weapons later in his reform career. Jerome did not disdain mere women as partners in his studies. Chrysostom and Augustine urged the common people to the study of the Scripture. Eusebius praised Pamphilius the Martyr who always had sacred books ready at home to pass out to both men and women.¹⁵⁴

It is important to mark that in answering the last argument of the 'Rabbis' Calvin mentions the 'Roman Pontiff and his priestlings.'¹⁵⁵ The opposing voices, the pastors, the Rabbis, and the Roman Pontiff and his priestlings, were all placed in the same category in opposing the reading of the Scriptures by the common people in their own languages. Ganoczy is correct to observe that the two prefaces 'are the first of his writings in which we encounter language that is openly hostile to the papacy.'¹⁵⁶ The phrase 'the Roman Pontiff and his priestlings' is 'the first indisputable antipapist and antisacerdotal statement by Calvin.'¹⁵⁷ However, it is also important to note that in criticizing the Roman Pontiff and his priestlings at this stage, Calvin was not criticizing the office and jurisdiction of the pope as such. Rather, he was opposing their tyranny to forbid people to know the truth of God's light. It was his concern for the Word of God to be known by the people that aroused

¹⁵¹ *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 374.

¹⁵² *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 374.

¹⁵³ Luther's commentary on Galatians (1519) had shown his complete dependence on the 'most solid rock of Divine Scripture' over against 'man's arbitrary decision.' See *LW* 27: 156.

¹⁵⁴ *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 375.

¹⁵⁵ *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 376.

¹⁵⁶ Ganoczy 1988: 94.

¹⁵⁷ Ganoczy 1988: 96.

Calvin's zeal to criticise the papacy. Thus in this early stage, one can see the tension between the Word of God and the power of the papacy in Calvin's mind. The cause of conflicts manifested in later stages appeared to have taken shape.

2.2.2. The French Preface

The French preface begins with the following words: 'To all who love Jesus Christ and his Gospel, greetings.'¹⁵⁸ This shows that it is written for the believers and it has a different objective from the Latin preface. His whole purpose was to provide a key for the reader to unlock the meaning of the Bible. Calvin was performing the role of a teacher to give guidance to his readers by setting forth the essential elements of Christian faith. In this sense, this preface is also a theology of Calvin in a nutshell at this early stage.¹⁵⁹ But it is not true that this preface is 'without any critical or polemical allusions,' as Ganoczy suggests.¹⁶⁰ Neuser has corrected Ganoczy by pointing out, for example, that when Calvin rejected human ordinances, he meant the ordinances of the pope, and he also admonished the bishops to do what was right.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, even the didactic content of this preface carries some central themes of Calvin's theology which lay the foundation for his later criticism of the papacy.

2.2.2.1. The Centrality of Christ

The key idea in this preface is that Christ is the exclusive Mediator between fallen man and God. Everything else in this preface revolves around this theme. Christ is so central that the reader feels that to have Christ is to have every spiritual blessing. Christ is our sole Saviour, in whom our salvation, peace, justification, sanctification, and life rest. This Christ, who died for our sins and was raised for our justification, is our Advocate and eternal High Priest. He presently sits at the right hand of God as the Lord and Master of all things.¹⁶² With such a centrality placed on Christ as the mediator in the new covenant, Calvin then attached a special significance to faith. There seems to be a universal tone here. No one is excluded by receiving Christ with a sure confidence whether he or she is man or woman, small or big, servant or master, teachers or students, clergy or layman, Jews or Greek, those who can only read French or those who are skilful in Latin.¹⁶³ The implication is that

¹⁵⁸ CO 9: 791.

¹⁵⁹ For its theological significance, see Neuser (2001: 1-38), which includes an English translation of the French text. In his conclusion, Neuser (2001: 21) remarks, 'This preface offers a significant approach to his theology, because it is the first outline of his theology.'

¹⁶⁰ Ganoczy 1988: 96.

¹⁶¹ Neuser 2001: 20.

¹⁶² CO 9: 803.

¹⁶³ CO 9: 807.

Christ and His gospel is central. Without the gospel we are useless and null; without the gospel we are no Christians. Without the gospel, all wealth is poverty, and even our wisdom is folly before God.¹⁶⁴ The gospel is the word of life and truth. It is God's power to the salvation for all that believe.

This centrality Calvin placed on Christ and his gospel may explain the absence of other subjects in this preface.¹⁶⁵ All other themes, however important they are, must give way to Christ and his gospel in this short preface. From hindsight, one can see that Calvin's conviction regarding the centrality of Christ and his gospel had laid the theological groundwork for his later opposition to the tyranny of the papacy. If Christ is so central, no one, including the pope, may replace him. If the gospel of Christ is so central, no one should corrupt his doctrine.

2.2.2.2. Two Appeals: Scripture and Teaching Responsibility

The last part of the preface includes two appeals that are relevant to our study here. The first appeal was directed to the Christian readers. Since Christ is the only way to life and salvation, the Christian's hope lies not in this world. It is the duty of every Christian to exert all his efforts to the study of the Scripture until he can penetrate into God's secrets revealed through his Word. The study of Scripture is not limited to a few people but is open for all and its benefits are ready for all its readers. Understanding the Scripture is also possible because Calvin assumed that God is active in His revelation in Scripture. Here lies the seed of Calvin's doctrine of the Holy Spirit in his illumination of the Christian that Calvin would develop more fully later.¹⁶⁶ The latter would become a powerful weapon against Rome's exclusive reservation of the right of teaching and interpretation to its own *magisterium*.

The second appeal is directed to all the 'bishops and pastors of the poor people.'¹⁶⁷ He appealed to them to do faithfully the job of teaching this Christ-centred gospel. They were to fulfil this teaching responsibility so that God's people were instructed in the pure Word of God.

Surely, if you are truly their [the Apostles'] vicars, successors, and imitators, it is your office to do the same, watching over the flock and seeking every possible means to have everyone *instructed in the faith of Jesus Christ, by the pure Word of God*¹⁶⁸ (italics mine).

¹⁶⁴ CO 9: 807.

¹⁶⁵ This is noticed by Saxer 1994: 31.

¹⁶⁶ In this preface Calvin has already seen the Holy Spirit as God's mighty witness in the hearts of the believers. CO 9: 807.

¹⁶⁷ CO 9: 817.

¹⁶⁸ CO 9: 822; Neuser 2001: 38.

It does not seem that these bishops and pastors to whom Calvin was appealing were limited to the clergy in the Protestant circles. On the contrary, it looks more likely that Calvin was appealing especially to the ministers in the old church. This means that at this early stage Calvin did not reject the bishops of the Catholic Church as such. He did not ask the bishops to leave the Catholic Church. He was exhorting them to fulfill their pastoral duty faithfully.

Calvin's exhortation also tells what in his mind this pastoral duty was. Apart from watching over the flock, it concerns chiefly teaching the pure Word of God. Clearly, this pastoral responsibility has a doctrinal focus. This is the idea of a bishop or pastor for Calvin. This is essential for understanding the true demand of Calvin when later in his reform career he requested that the bishop of Rome should be a true bishop. The pastoral duty has to do with the truth of God's Word. Calvin had already a clear conception of this at this early stage.

2.3. The 1536 *Institutio*

The next document to be considered is the 1536 *Institutio*. This work represented the young Calvin's deepened sense of responsibility in the instruction of the people by his literary effort, if not by public, ministerial participation for the moment. In a 'secluded corner' in Basel in 1535 Calvin was already sought after by many of those 'who had any desire after purer doctrine' in order to learn from him.¹⁶⁹ Then he decided to write a book in order to 'transmit certain rudiments by which those who are touched with any zeal for religion might be shaped to true godliness.'¹⁷⁰ By 23 August 1535, the book was complete. It was published in Basel in March 1536.¹⁷¹ This book can rightly be called an 'instructional or catechetical' manual, as the content itself demonstrates.¹⁷² At the same time this book also served a secondary, apologetical purpose.¹⁷³ At Basel Calvin heard that his Frenchmen were persecuted for the accusation that they were as seditious as the Anabaptists.¹⁷⁴ He felt responsible to take up his pen to 'vindicate my brethren.'¹⁷⁵ The dedicatory letter presented to Francis I made these dual purposes clear:

Consequently, it seemed to me that I should be doing something worthwhile if I both gave instruction to those I had undertaken to instruct and made confession before you with the same work. From this you may learn the nature of the doctrine

¹⁶⁹ CO 31: 23; CTS *Comm. Psalms* I: xl-xli.

¹⁷⁰ CO 1: 9; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 1.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Parker 1987: 39.

¹⁷² Muller 2000: 26.

¹⁷³ Cf. Battles' introduction in *Institutes* (1536/Bat): xliii-xlv.

¹⁷⁴ CO 31: 23; CTS *Comm. Psalms* I: xli.

¹⁷⁵ CO 31: 23; CTS *Comm. Psalms* I: xlii.

against which those madmen burn with rage who today disturb your realm with sword and and fire.¹⁷⁶

But this apologetic purpose is not served by a critique of the papacy *per se*. It is rather a critique of Roman doctrines. Even when Calvin touched on 'ecclesiastical structures,' as Ganoczy terms it,¹⁷⁷ or what Battles calls 'the rejection of institutionalized Roman Catholicism,'¹⁷⁸ his object was not the papacy itself. This observation is important, for it indicates that the 1536 *Institutio* was not yet a head-on conflict with the papacy. Admittedly, the text shows that there were existing conflicts. Nevertheless, Calvin's attention is not focused on the papacy itself but rather the errors it made and the abuses it committed.

2.3.1. Erroneous Doctrines and Ecclesiastical Structures

Thus in his critique of the seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church (Chapter 4 & 5), Calvin's objective was on refuting erroneous doctrines of these sacraments.¹⁷⁹ His purpose was to point out that 'all their doctrine is patched together out of terrible sacrileges and blasphemies.'¹⁸⁰ When attacking Rome's claims of apostolic succession, he did not direct his criticism at the pope, but the bishops.¹⁸¹ Only twice did he mention the pope in these two chapters. The first occasion was when Calvin pointed out that 'plenary indulgences, as well as indulgences for certain years, stem from the Pope.'¹⁸² Indeed, this was just a passing reference, which may have echoed the indulgences controversy between Luther and Rome. The second occurrence emerged from his discussion of ecclesiastical orders when Calvin criticised the *mitrati pontifices* for usurping the power of ordaining and consecrating presbyters.¹⁸³ This again was a passing reference. He did not even touch on the office of the pope at the top of the hierarchy. What he took seriously was the proper pastoral duty of the pastors. Uppermost in his mind was the teaching and preaching responsibility of the minister. There was 'no other minister of the church than the herald of God's Word.'¹⁸⁴ It was with this pastoral responsibility that he was called to govern the church. How he was named was not of special importance for Calvin. He was sometimes called bishop [Acts 20: 28], sometimes presbyter [Acts 14: 23]

¹⁷⁶ CO 1: 9; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 1.

¹⁷⁷ Ganoczy 1988: 216.

¹⁷⁸ *Institutes* (1536/Bat): xlv.

¹⁷⁹ For a discussion of Luther's influence, see Ganoczy 1988: 137-45. Cf. Luther's *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* in LW 36: 11-126.

¹⁸⁰ CO 1: 158; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 148.

¹⁸¹ CO 1: 184; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 164-5.

¹⁸² CO 1: 158; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 140.

¹⁸³ CO 1: 186; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 166-7.

¹⁸⁴ CO 1: 186; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 166.

and even occasionally pastor [I Pet. 5: 4]. These observations indicate that at most there were in Calvin's mind latent conflicts at this stage between his ideal of sound doctrine and ecclesiastical government and those that were believed and practised under the papacy.

2.3.2. The Church as Elect Vs Papal Hierarchy

However, mention must be made in the way Calvin made implicit criticism of the pope and the hierarchical structure of the church in his exposition of the fourth part of the *Apostolic Creed* (chapter 2). It is implicit because again Calvin did not mention the pope at all. Only when we turn to his letter to Francis I, which serves as a preface to the *Institutes*, do we find that there is a correlation between his treatment of the church and the papacy. It is usually pointed out that Calvin taught or emphasised the invisible church in the 1536 *Institutio*. This is true but the reason for this is rarely clarified satisfactorily.¹⁸⁵ In Calvin's exposition, the holy catholic church is the whole number of the elect. It is clear that Calvin was dealing with the essential nature of the church, not its external form. This essential nature was defined in terms of God's election. Thus in the 1536 *Institutio*, the church and election are inseparably joined together. This relationship is so close that the reader will feel that Calvin was treating predominantly the doctrine of election. This impression is confirmed when Calvin, after briefly stating that the church, as God's elect, was meant to be holy, wrote:

Paul indeed describes this order of God's mercy: 'Those whom he has chosen from men he calls; those whom he has called, he justifies; those whom he has justified, he glorifies' [Rom. 8:30] . . . Consequently, the Lord, when he calls his own, justifies and glorifies his own, is declaring nothing but his eternal election, by which he had destined them to this end before they were born.¹⁸⁶

Then he elaborated that, as a result of this election, the true member of of the church would not ultimately perish or come to a bad end. The elect would enjoy final perseverance. Moreover, election also guaranteed that 'there was no time from the creation of the world when the Lord did not have his Church upon the earth.'¹⁸⁷ Then election gave assurance of faith. Since in Calvin's exposition election was joined to Christ and by faith the believers 'possessed Christ,' believers could be assured by

¹⁸⁵ For example, Milner (1970: 68-9) and van't Spijker (1994: 37) only acknowledge Calvin's ecclesiological thought on this point without explaining it.

¹⁸⁶ CO 1: 73; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 58.

¹⁸⁷ CO 1: 73-4; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 59.

this promise, 'that God will recognize as his sons those who have received his only-begotten.'¹⁸⁸

This treatment of the doctrine of the church appears to have no relation to the papacy, especially when Calvin did not even contrast it with the Roman teaching of the church or the pope at all. Yet when we turn to Calvin's letter to Francis I, we will see that there is indeed one significant connection. In the letter, Calvin exposed the errors his opponents made regarding the nature of the church:

Our controversy turns on these hinges: first, they contend that the form of the church is always apparent and observable. Secondly, they set this form in the see of the Roman Church and its hierarchy. We, on the contrary, affirm that the church can exist without any visible appearance, and that its appearance is not contained within that outward magnificence which they foolishly admire. Rather, it has quite another mark, namely, the pure preaching of the God's Word and the lawful administration of the sacraments.¹⁸⁹

From this text, one can see Calvin did not treat the invisibility of the church or define the church in terms of God's election for no reason.¹⁹⁰ His chief purpose was to reject 'the see of the Roman Church and its hierarchy' as the outward form of the church.¹⁹¹ This outward form could not constitute the church. If accepted, it would easily lead to another serious error, as had happened in the Roman church. A few lines later, Calvin pointed out this danger.

Now I shall point out how dangerous is their desire to have the forms of the church judged by some sort of vain pomp. This I shall sketch rather than explain at length lest I endlessly prolong my discourse. The Roman Pope, they say, who occupies the Apostolic See, and the other bishops represent the church; *therefore they cannot err*.¹⁹²

Thus he concluded at the end of his appeal on this section that

This doctrine itself whereby they claim to be the church, is a deadly butchery of souls, a firebrand, a ruin, and a destruction of the church.¹⁹³

Thus, Calvin would rather emphasise the church's essential nature in terms of God's election. In the same letter, Calvin added

¹⁸⁸ CO 1: 75; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 60.

¹⁸⁹ CO 1: 22; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 9.

¹⁹⁰ In his ecclesiological treatise of 1520, *On the Papacy in Rome* (LW 39: 55-104), Luther deliberately described the church as a spiritual unity of true believers under Christ's invisible headship.

¹⁹¹ Carpi-Mailly (1998: 17-8) also saw this point.

¹⁹² CO 1: 22; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 10. A classic example was the four *fundamenta* in Prierias' *Dialogus* (1518) in which he defined the church in terms of the pope and deduced 'the inerrancy of a pope in his ex officio pronouncements and of a general council duly convoked.' See Bagchi 1991: 28. The English text of the four *fundamenta* is found in Tavuzzi (1997: 111).

¹⁹³ CO 1: 23; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 11.

Since the Lord alone 'knows who are his' [2 Tim. 2: 19], let us therefore leave to him the fact that he sometimes removes from men's sight the external notion of his church.¹⁹⁴

The church was to be sought in the elect people of God, not in the external form as represented by the pope or the hierarchy of the Roman church.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, if the church was to be sought by her marks, these lay in 'the pure preaching of the God's Word and the lawful administration of the sacraments.'¹⁹⁶ These two were to be consistently used by Calvin in his critique of the Roman church in his later writings.

The fact that he did not explicitly mention the pope in the text of 1536 *Institutio* shows that his motive was more corrective than offensive. The 1536 *Institutio* was by and large still an instructional or catechetical manual. It was not intended for polemical purposes. Moreover, Calvin's purpose in rejecting the pope and the Roman hierarchy was based on a totally different concept of the nature of the church. He was not criticising the papacy itself. At the same time, it must be admitted that the fact that he rejected the pope and the Roman hierarchy as the form of the church indicates that there were basic conflicts between Calvin's ecclesiological thought and that of Rome. That explains why all through his reform career, whenever he treated the concept or doctrine of the church, he had to deal with the papacy as well.

2.3.3. The Pope's Abuse of Power

In the final chapter on Christian freedom, ecclesiastical power and political administration, which, according to Richard Muller, betrays 'a closely related apologetical motive,'¹⁹⁷ we do not find Calvin focus his criticism on the papacy. He discussed various abuses of power by the Roman Catholic Church. He attacked the 'pastors of the Church' for decreeing laws to be 'necessary for eternal life'¹⁹⁸ and

¹⁹⁴ CO 1: 22; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 10.

¹⁹⁵ Calvin followed the way of Wyclif and Hus in defining the church as the predestinated company of believers. For their influences, see Lamping 1976: 35-6, 100-1; Leff 1986: 112-3, 122; Kenny 1986b: 160-1; Kenny 1986a: 127-45; Hudson 1988: 328-329; Dobiáš 1967: 259-67. Both of these forerunners of the Reformation were condemned for their teaching on this subject in the Council of Constance by the decree *Haec sancta* (1415). See Dupuis 1996: 284. One can see the shadow of Luther as well. Hendrix (1981: 105) points out that in 1520, Luther wrote to Jerome Dangersheim: 'When we ask for the church, you show us one man, the pope.' Hendrix continues, 'In *The Papacy at Rome* (1520), Luther argues that the pope cannot be the head of Christendom because the church, properly understood, is a spiritual communion of the faithful bound together throughout the world in faith, hope, and love. Only this communion conforms to the concept of the church in Scripture; it alone is the true church and can be ruled by no earthly head but only by Christ himself.'

¹⁹⁶ CO 1: 22; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 9.

¹⁹⁷ Muller 2000: 120.

¹⁹⁸ CO 1: 204; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 184.

'under pain of eternal death.'¹⁹⁹ He mentioned 'spiritual tyrants,' but these were referred to as 'bishops' and 'directors of souls.'²⁰⁰ He discussed the power of councils but stop short of relating it to the pope, unlike what he did in the 1543 *Institutio*. Only near the end did he focus his criticism on the pope by way of summary.

I trust we have won such a victory as to leave no reason for anyone to doubt that the spiritual power on which the pope with his whole royal entourage preens himself is an impious tyranny opposed to God's word and unjust towards his people.²⁰¹

Close observation reveals that this misuse of spiritual power refers specifically to two important areas: doctrines and laws. The first refers to the papacy's

formulating new doctrines by which they turn the wretched people utterly away from the original purity of God's Word.²⁰²

The second focuses on the papacy's

formulat[ing] new laws with which they have cruelly troubled unhappy consciences—in short, the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction (as they call it) which they exercise through suffragans and officials.²⁰³

It is at this point that Calvin stated that the rule of Christ and the dominion of the papacy could not co-exist.

For if we allow Christ to rule among us, this whole kind of dominion is easily overturned and laid low.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁹ CO 1: 205; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 185.

²⁰⁰ CO 1: 209; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 188-9.

²⁰¹ CO 1: 221; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 200.

²⁰² CO 1: 221; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 200.

²⁰³ CO 1: 221; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 200. Luther's printed commentary on Galatians (1519) lamented over the 'oceans of Roman laws' which oppressed consciences with a great burden of obligation. See *LW* 27: 198, 226, 215, 236, 358. The issue that consciences were troubled by the late medieval penitential system is critically reviewed by Duggan 1984: 153-75. Duggan (1984: 173) summarises his thesis: 'The assertion that the late medieval penitential system weighed so heavily on the conscience of the normal layman that it drove him into the arms of the Reformers has an odd ring in the ear of a modern Catholic and even more so in the ear of a late medieval Church historian who cannot believe that a Church unable to reform itself from within, unable to enforce celibacy among the clergy, unable to prevent clandestine marriages among the laity or to teach them little more than the Pater Noster, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Deadly Sins (if all of these)—that this Church nevertheless had the authority and the capacity to nurture millions of overly scrupulous souls. The argument is fundamentally irreconcilable with much of the evidence and most of the conventional wisdom about the character of the late medieval Church in Western Europe.' If Duggan's thesis is correct, then Calvin's critique here reflects his own theological judgement more than the psychic reality of the common people. It does not mean, however, that Calvin was not correct. It does mean that Calvin's paramount concern is theology. He believes that a false theology would lead to serious practical consequences in the lives of the people. His pastoral concern has a deep root in his theological conviction.

²⁰⁴ CO 1: 221; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 200.

Although the papacy did not become an independent subject for criticism, the language used here indicates that the conflict was there. What the pope did to the church was by no means trivial. In fact, from a retrospective point of view, Calvin's words indicate that his later severe criticism of the pope for corrupting the doctrine of the church and replacing Christ as head had found its seed in the 1536 *Institutio*. The 1536 *Institutio* has demonstrated Calvin's passion for the purity of the Word of God and his committed jealousy for the kingship of Christ. These concerns formed the presuppositions of his ecclesiological thought and constituted the cause for his head-to-head conflicts with the pope in the later years. Thus Calvin emphasised that the Christian

should acknowledge one King, their deliverer Christ, and should be governed by one law of freedom, namely, the holy Word of the gospel, if they would retain the grace which they have once for all obtained in Christ. They must be held in no bondage, and bound by no bond.²⁰⁵

One just has to see if Calvin's passion for these three—the rule of Christ, the purity of the gospel and the freedom of conscience from tyrannical laws—forms the motives for his later continuing struggle with the papacy.

2.4. The Lausanne Disputation (1536)

When Calvin came to Geneva in July 1536,²⁰⁶ he was 'detained' by Farel 'by a dreadful imprecation,' so that he felt, in his own words, 'as if God had from heaven laid his mighty hand upon me to arrest me.'²⁰⁷ He could not, or dared not, resist, and joined Farel in Geneva. Once he took up his first post in Geneva as 'reader in Holy Scripture'²⁰⁸ in September 1536,²⁰⁹ his timidity began to be submerged. He was certain of God's call to His church. As Higman describes him, 'suddenly we find a man who can brook no compromise between Good and Evil.'²¹⁰ He began his course of being a reformer in Geneva. Soon he was made to launch into the international arena, building up acquaintance with fellow reformers and engaging in dialogue and even battles with opponents from Rome.

Thus, shortly after he began his ministry in the church in Geneva, Calvin joined with Farel and Viret at the invitation of Bern to take part in the disputation in Lausanne. This disputation was initiated by the Bernese authorities to further

²⁰⁵ CO 1: 204-5; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 185.

²⁰⁶ For Calvin's coming to Geneva, see Kingdon 1974: 53-76. Wallace 1988: 12-26.

²⁰⁷ CO 31: 23; CTS *Comm.* Psal. I: xlii.

²⁰⁸ CO 21, 30. Ganoczy 1988: 108-9. See also the discussion in Parker 1987: 68-9.

²⁰⁹ Higman 1970: 7.

²¹⁰ Higman 1970: 6.

consolidate the reform movement in Lausanne.²¹¹ It was designed to be a debate between the evangelical preachers and the orators of the local clergy on ten articles²¹² drawn up by Farel.²¹³

This debate was a public demonstration of the reformed faith in Lausanne.²¹⁴ The debate adopted a model more akin to the one conducted by Zwingli rather than the more traditional types like Luther's. Four aspects characterised this debate.²¹⁵ It was not convened by a theologian but the magistrate; it was not held in the setting of a university but in a building open to the public; it was not conducted in Latin but in the vernacular language, that is French; and finally, the only acceptable authority was Scriptures, not the tradition of the church.²¹⁶

Strangely, Calvin studies did not pay much attention to Calvin's involvement in Lausanne. Many biographies of Calvin, for example, take only a passing note on this phase of his activity.²¹⁷ This is largely due to the less active role taken by Calvin during the Lausanne disputation. He only delivered two discourses²¹⁸ on two occasions, one on 5 October 1536, the other on 7 October 1536.²¹⁹ However, the significance of Calvin's discourses should be marked, especially for our present interest. For one thing, Calvin's impact could be felt among the participants of the disputation. After Lausanne his reputation was well recognised among the reformers. His ability displayed in the two discourses also initiated the young reformer into the future religious colloquies which in turn had a long-term impact for his view of the papacy.²²⁰ But the two discourses themselves also reveal another implicit conflict between Calvin's theological conviction and the papacy.

²¹¹ For the background, circumstances, and motive of the Lausanne disputation, see Junod 1988b: 13-22.

²¹² These include the doctrine on justification, the unique mediation of Jesus Christ, the nature of the church, the sacraments, the ministry, ceremonies, the civil magistrate, and marriage.

²¹³ CTT 35-7. Helleman (1992: 148) erroneously makes Calvin the author of these articles, perhaps due to the fact that they were included in CTT 35-7.

²¹⁴ Such a general disputation is not a novelty. In fact, the Lausanne Disputation is the last of a series of disputations that characterized the reform movement in Switzerland with the disputation in Zurich in 1523 and in Bern in 1528. See Eric Junod 1988b: 18, 22.

²¹⁵ Junod 1988b: 18. See also Higman 1988a: 23-5.

²¹⁶ Blaser 1988: 49-59

²¹⁷ Braekman (1988: 170-1) remarks that a number of Calvin biographies have neglected or have not paid much attention to this phase of Calvin's activity.

²¹⁸ *Deux discours de Calvin au colloque de Lausanne* (CO 9: 877-86).

²¹⁹ By contrast, Viret and Farel were very active during the debate. Peronnet (1988: 134-5) noted that Farel intervened 52 times in the Lausanne disputation.

²²⁰ E. M. Braekman 1988: 174-177; Ganoczy (1988: 110) suggested that the victory in Lausanne, 'coupled with the success of his *Institutes*, greatly contributed to developing his awareness of being a sort of "mouth piece" of God.' 110; McGrath 1990: 97.

2.4.1. The First Discourse

Calvin's first discourse was a response to the charge of a Roman Catholic speaker that the Evangelicals were condemning and rejecting the fathers. The speaker suggested that the Evangelicals could not endure to be convinced by their authority since they all contradicted them. This challenge became an opportunity for Calvin to clarify the relation and relative importance between the Word of God and the authority of the fathers.²²¹ As he would later use the fathers to correct the papacy, this clarification on the part of Calvin should be also underlined here.

Calvin replied that it was false to think that the Evangelicals had no regard for the fathers. The Evangelicals had no fear of the writings of the fathers as if the latter's doctrine was against them. The reverse was the truth. The Evangelicals read the fathers and they had a better understanding of them than their Roman Catholic opponents did. They knew that the teachings of the fathers in fact supported them. However, Calvin was careful to point out that this did not make the fathers the final authority.²²² The supreme authority for the Evangelicals was the Word of God. Complete obedience was due to God's voice alone.²²³ The Word, not any human authority, is the criterion of teaching. Compliance with the fathers must be based on this criterion of the Word.

For his Roman Catholic opponents this exclusive allegiance to the Word was taken to mean the abolition of the power of all human laws. Calvin pointed out that this was not so. For this view of the Word had nothing to do with temporal policy for this present life but with the spiritual realm of God for life eternal. In this realm only God was the sole king and legislator. According to Isaiah 33, God ruled this realm with his Word 'in which consists alone his sceptre and dominion.'²²⁴ The Word of God was that important for Calvin.

What Calvin meant by this spiritual realm was the church of God. The church must subject to the authority of the Word of God alone. This has great implications. For at this point Calvin subjected the pope to severe criticism. For the first time, he expressly proclaimed that the pope was the Antichrist. He named James to support him. The Letter of James made it plain that there was only one legislator who was able to save or damn. This meant that anyone who could impose law upon the church had the power to save or damn. Hence there could be no other legislator than

²²¹ Calvin had made this point in the letter to Francis I in the 1536 *Institutio*. CO 1: 27; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 6-7.

²²² Cf. Hendrix 1993: 61-2.

²²³ CO 9: 878; CTT 38-9.

²²⁴ CO 9: 878; CTT 39.

God alone, who was the Lord of life and death. But the pope showed himself to be an 'Antichrist' when he arrogated to himself this power.²²⁵

It is true that the Pope by his intolerable impudence and devilish pride has tried to arrogate this power to himself, thus accomplishing what is attributed to Antichrist, who elevates himself far above all majesty and all honour which is given to God.²²⁶

One can see that in Calvin's angry outburst critical principles were stake. He was jealous to defend the kingship of God and the authority of his Word in the life of the church. Such sharp criticism could not be a sudden invention but must have been stuck deep in Calvin's mind already. It was the Roman Catholic opponents that occasioned its release.

2.4.2. The Second Discourse

In Calvin's second discourse, he took Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) to task on a doctrinal issue: transubstantiation.²²⁷ He held the pope responsible for 'the first definition' of this 'monstrous doctrine.'²²⁸ The authority of the pope was of such a kind that he was capable of committing such doctrinal error. Calvin chided the pope for the way he arrived at such a doctrinal definition. Skilfully, he employed a tract written by Cardinal Beno in order to reproach the pope by the words of his own people. The story was that when Gregory was not certain of this doctrine, he called a fast in order that he might be enlightened by God's revelation. Yet when no revelation visited him, he 'did not hesitate to draw a quite deliberate conclusion.'²²⁹ Thus Calvin said,

I do not know how you dare to hold a thing resolved in this way, which was so ill-founded in the mind of him who transmits it to you.²³⁰

For Calvin, the way Gregory VII came to his conclusion demonstrated to him the danger of such authority possessed by the pope. Moreover, the fact that Calvin could recount the story about the pope showed that his reading had been directed to the errors of papal history. The impression from this reading must have been a bad one, that the pope with his authority could commit such a gross error.

²²⁵ For a discussion of the history of Antichrist leading up to the Reformation, See McGinn 1979: 29-30; McGinn 2000: 79-230; Bostick 1998: 48-74.

²²⁶ CO 9: 878-9; CTT 39.

²²⁷ See also Higman 1988b: 115-22.

²²⁸ CO 9: 884-5; CTT 45: 'Recollection accords to Hildebrand the first definition of this monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation.' For a discussion of the definition of this doctrine and its interpretation, see Schoonenberg 1967: 41-47. See also McCue 1968: 385-430; Macy 1994: 11-41.

²²⁹ CO 9: 886; CTT 45.

²³⁰ CO 9: 886; CTT 45.

In brief, the Lausanne disputation occasioned Calvin's growing criticism of the pope. But it also revealed his concerns in this criticism. These were much the same as were reflected in his comments on the papacy in the 1536 *Institutio*. In both his anger was directed against the papacy's corruption of true doctrine and the usurpation of God's (or Christ's) authority. The reasons for Calvin's rejection of the papacy in his later career began to emerge.

2.5. The *Epistolae duae* (1537)

The disputation of Lausanne witnessed a transitional period in the reform conviction of Calvin. On his return from Lausanne his vision for the need of the reformation of the church had widened. His determination to participate in that reform had been strengthened. In a letter he sent from Lausanne on 13 October 1536 to his friend François Daniel, there was a sense of urgency in his mind. After he had briefly described the Lausanne disputation and how the idols and altars had begun to disappear, he expressed the need for more workers to participate in the reform work:

You can hardly believe the small number of ministers compared with the very many churches which need pastors. How I wish, seeing the extreme necessity of the Church, that, however few they may be in number, there were at least some right-hearted men among you who may be induced to lend a helping hand!²³¹

What is more, the letter that Calvin received from Bucer on 1 November 1536 shows that by that time the young reformer who had published the 1536 *Institutio* and returned after his eye-catching performance in the Lausanne disputation was now recognized by the leading circle of reform leaders.²³² With these backgrounds in mind, it is not difficult to understand why when the call to be a pastor of the church of Geneva came he accepted that offer without hesitation,²³³ though due consideration must be given to Farel's influence at the same time.²³⁴ Calvin's sense of mission, however, was by no means limited to the church in Geneva, but extended to the need of the church beyond its boundary. The *Epistolae duae* are proofs of his deepened as well as his widened concern for the reform of the church at large.²³⁵

The *Epistolae duae* were written at the end of 1536, during his trip to Italy,²³⁶ to two friends²³⁷ concerning two contemporary issues faced by Christians living in

²³¹ CO 10: 64; LJC 1: 46.

²³² CO 10: 66-68. For Calvin's acquaintance with Bucer, see Eells 1971: 230-231.

²³³ CO 21: 126. Cf. Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 50; CO 5: 386.

²³⁴ I am grateful that Prof. David F. Wright reminded me of this latter point as well.

²³⁵ *Epistolae duae de rebus hoc saeculo cognitu necessariis* (CO 5: 233-312; OS 1: 287-362).

²³⁶ Both Nicolas of Gallars (CO 5: XI) and Nicolas Colladon (CO 21: 60) affirmed that the two letters were written during Calvin's sojourn in Italy.

²³⁷ de Greef 1993:149-150.

the territories of the Roman church.²³⁸ It should be underlined that Calvin decided to have these two letters published. They came out in Basel in early 1537. On 25 March 1537 Calvin received the first twelve copies from the printer.²³⁹ The preface shows that Calvin had identified himself with the prophet Ezekiel, whose words people listened to, but did not take the trouble to put into practice because they did not know that God's prophet was in their midst.²⁴⁰ But a prophet usually had his opponents. These were not just a faceless mass. There was an arch-opponent on their top. The pope again came into sight in Calvin's writings.

2.5.1. Letter to Nicolas Duchemin: Nicodemism and the Papacy

The first letter was written in answer to his friend's question as to how one should participate in religious worship under the old church.²⁴¹ Under high religious and social pressure many Christians became what were called Nicodemites, believing that although they participated in the Mass and the rites of the old church, they could still regard these actions as indifferent when they maintained their inner worship toward the true God. Some put forward the argument that maintaining this participation would not cause others to stumble but could become a channel to lead others to Christ.

Calvin was asked to give his opinions, and his answer was uncompromising.²⁴² Among other reformers²⁴³ he took a very strong view against Nicodemite participation and its reasoning for doing so.²⁴⁴ We need not present his arguments in this context.²⁴⁵ Our interest is rather to see whether he had presented any views concerning the papacy, and to see how his hard-core anti-Nicodemite attitude relates to his view of the papacy.

²³⁸ CO 21: 60.

²³⁹ *Bibl. Calviniana* 1: 42-3

²⁴⁰ CO 5: 237-8.

²⁴¹ The first letter is entitled *De fugiendis impiorum illicitis sacris, et puritate Christianae religionis observanda* (CO 5: 239-278; OS 1: 289-329). English translation for the first letter is used in *T&T* 3: 359-411.

²⁴² Cf. Burger 1998: 149-58.

²⁴³ For the views of other reformers to this question, see Matheson 1989: 154-72.

²⁴⁴ The intensity of Calvin's hostility to Nicodemism can be compared, for example, with Bucer. See Wright 1994b: 20-4.

²⁴⁵ See also *Petit Traicté monstrant que c'est que doit faire un homme fidèle congnoissant la verité de l'evangile: quand il est entre les papistes* (1543) in CO 6: 537-88; *Excuse de Jehan Calvin à Messieurs les Nicodemites, sur la complainte qui'ilz font de sa trop grand' rigueur* (1544) in Higman 1970: 131-54 (English translation in Calvin 1994). For studies on Calvin's anti-Nicodemism, see Higman 1970: 21-26; Eire 1979: 45-69; Higman 1984: 165-70; Eire 1985: 120-45; Eire 1986: 234-75; Matheson 1989: 154-72; Zagorin 1990: 63-82; David F. Wright, 'Why was Calvin So Severe a Critic of Nicodemism?' in papers of Seventh International Congress on Calvin Research (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Studies) [to be published].

First, Calvin rejected strongly the Mass, and with it, other rites in the Roman Church. All of them were idolatries. For Calvin, a person's attitude to sound doctrines should take him to a rejection of false ones, and these rejections should lead to non-participation in idolatrous practices even if they were offered in the name of God.

Moreover, Calvin saw these idolatries from a particular angle, linking them to the papacy. The fact that people in his time would abstain from pagan idolatry but not from the rites of the Roman church was, in Calvin's view, due to the fact that these rites were 'rites of the papists,' which were performed 'in the name of God, not in that of the idols.'²⁴⁶ Thus the rites of the Roman church were legitimised by this excuse. Calvin saw that this was a grave error. He believed that this error could be refuted by the fact that Scripture anathematised papistical ceremonies as much as all other idol abominations. Then Calvin pointed the finger to the pope.

There never was displayed in Gentile superstitions sacrilege more execrable, more grievously subversive of true piety, or more insulting to it than some of those things that are now everywhere seen within the kingdom of the Pope (*in regno papae*).²⁴⁷

With these words Calvin saw the pope as the cause and patron of all idolatries in the church. Just as he showed no compromise to Nicodemism, he was all the more critical of the pope. The pope is 'that priest of deceptions' (*'praestigiarum ille antistes'*), who 'by his impostures' had corrupted the church of God. It was 'from his hand' that proceeded all corruption of the church.²⁴⁸ Then Calvin's anger mounted. Should the Lord exercise a complete purification of the church, he wrote,

the only method by which it will be accomplished will be by plucking up the roots, and as it were by one stroke of the pen erasing everything which has proceeded from his (the pope's) hand!²⁴⁹

In this context we are given concrete examples of how the pope abused his power. Calvin mentioned fasting and clerical celibacy which the pope imposed upon the church.²⁵⁰ These decrees were 'tyrannical' and 'devilish.'²⁵¹

²⁴⁶ CO 5: 252; T&T 3: 377.

²⁴⁷ CO 5: 252; T&T 3: 378.

²⁴⁸ CO 5: 252; T&T 3: 377-8.

²⁴⁹ CO 5: 252; T&T 3: 378.

²⁵⁰ CO 5: 253; T&T 3: 378. Long before Calvin, Ockham had made this same critique. Cf. Ryan 1979: 10.

²⁵¹ Cf the fact that when Luther used 'tyranny' to describe the pope, he had especially in mind how the pope made papal decrees without regard for Scripture. Here Calvin also used tyranny to refer to the law-making abuse of the pope to bind consciences. See Hendrix 1981: 81.

Evidently, Calvin's anti-Nicodemism is so closely related to his anti-papal attitude that without grasping the intensity of his anti-papal attitude we cannot properly understand the tenacity of his anti-Nicodemite position. To compromise the latter was to accept the tyranny of the papacy. But that was something that Calvin would never concede.

2.5.2. Letter to Gérard Roussel: Episcopal Responsibility under the Papacy

At about the same time, Calvin wrote a letter²⁵² to an old friend who had recently been ordained a bishop by the Roman Catholic Church.²⁵³ This correspondent is identified by most Calvin scholars as Gérard Roussel, who had lately become bishop of Oléron in Béarn.²⁵⁴ In this letter, Calvin sharply criticised the pope again. However, one should best set his criticism in context. The title of this letter is significant for our purpose here: *On the Duty of a Christian Man either to Administer or to Abandon the Priestly Duties of the Papal Church*. Although Calvin used 'sacerdotium' in the title of his letter, he was actually discussing the office and pastoral duties of the 'bishop.' In addition, judged by the title of the letter Calvin did not call upon Roussel to renounce his office.²⁵⁵ At least at this stage Calvin was not rejecting the office of the bishop under the Roman Church, even if it was an office under the papacy.²⁵⁶ The letter itself shows that he directed Roussel away from the commonly accepted attitude towards this office under the papacy, according to which becoming a bishop was seen as honourable, an access to power and wealth.²⁵⁷ Calvin pointed out to Roussel the high responsibility of the office of a bishop. Bishops were *custodes* and *speculatores* of God's people, appointed to watch over their salvation. They are *procuratores*, appointed to build up the family of God by preaching the Word of God.²⁵⁸ They are also *pastores* whose love for the sheep should motivate them even to die for them.²⁵⁹ The magnitude of the work demanded great diligence

²⁵² The second letter is entitled *De Christiani hominis officio in sacerdotiis papalis ecclesiae vel administrandis vel abiiciendis* (CO 5: 279-312; OS 1: 329-62).

²⁵³ For the office of the bishop, see Örsy 1963: 788-826.

²⁵⁴ On 4 February 1536, Roussel was nominated to the bishop of Oléron, a message that could have reached Calvin in Ferrara. Under the protection of the queen, he introduced reform innovations in liturgy and church order without carrying out the break with Rome. See the introduction in Bush (1994b: 267).

²⁵⁵ Cf. White 1997: 19.

²⁵⁶ See Ganoczy 1988: 274-276; Eire 1993: 596.

²⁵⁷ CO 5: 282.

²⁵⁸ CO 5: 283. Cf. Tavard (2000: 147-8)'s study of Calvin's letter to Roussel: 'The chief duty of bishops is to proclaim the word of God. ... This positive description of a bishop's calling places the accent exclusively on the function of teaching and leading.'

²⁵⁹ CO 5: 284

on the part of the office bearer because it was a work full of tribulation, worry and unrest.²⁶⁰ In this way, Calvin showed Roussel how to be a good bishop. Yet, he warned, it was quite impossible to be a true bishop under the papacy.²⁶¹ The clergy of the pope were replete with doctrinal errors,²⁶² and the false worship they led was full of idolatries.²⁶³ These only led people into blindness and darkness.

While Calvin was not rejecting the office of the bishop as such, his comment on the pope appears, by contrast, to be extremely critical. He called the pope the *romanus Pluto* at the beginning of this letter.²⁶⁴ Such negative comment needs some explanation. Calvin was aware that he was writing this letter in a very difficult situation. The fact that the office of the bishop meant honour, power, and wealth was, in Calvin's opinion, due to the pope. It was the pope, the '*romanus Pluto*,' who had captivated the people with these tricks, making them blind so as not to be able to see the fateful dangers of riches and honour. The name *Pluto* as applied to the pope fits the context here. Pluto is the god of the underworld in Greek mythology.²⁶⁵ It is also a name of Hades, which, when normally referred to a person, is the 'Lord of death'. Hades has two opposite but complementary aspects in his divinity:

As the Lord of the Dead, he was dark and sinister, a god to be feared and kept at a distance. Paradoxically, he was also believed to 'send up' good things for mortals from his wealth below.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁰ CO 5: 283-4: 'Haec ergo provinciae magnitudo, si oscitantiam omnem excutere tibi debet, ubi ad ipsam operis molem animum converteris, enarrari non potest, quanto studio excitari te inflammarique oporteat, ne quid in obeundis eius muniis deligentiae reliquum facias... At quos Dominus ad regendam ecclesiam suam vocat, iis administrationem mandat, negotii, curae, sollicitudinis plenam.'

²⁶¹ The great difficulties that Vergerio faced after his conversion to Evangelism and attempted to become a reforming bishop is a case in point. See Schutte 1977. Cf. Contarini's *De officio episcopi*, 1516. I am using the English translation in Olin (1969: 90-106). The instructions given in this 'little work' (p. 101) reflect a number of unpleasant things about the bishops of that age. That many bishops 'completely neglect and disregard the poor of their flock' was 'the calamity of our age' (pp. 94-5). Some of them pursued 'unchaste studies and some superstitious sciences like magic and the knowledge of prophesying from the stars' (p. 97). Some were given over to 'magnificent pomp and lavishness and excessive elegance in the food and its service' (p. 98) at the expense of people. And 'nearly all ... sin most grievously,' by admitting 'without discrimination the most wicked men, as well as men ignorant of every good art, ... to a sharing in the divine power which belongs to priests' (p. 102). The most alarming of all is that instead of the bishops 'the religious have assumed [the] duty [of preaching] in our age because of the slothfulness of the Bishops' (p. 104).

²⁶² CO 5: 293.

²⁶³ CO 5: 296.

²⁶⁴ CO 5: 281: 'Est tamen quiddam, quod in tanta etiamnum difficultate spem mihi aliquam faciat, in ipsis vel docendis, vel monendis, vel obsecrandis, non inanem me operam sumpturum. Tametsi enim omnes praestigiis illis fascinati, quibus suos excaecare solet romanus Pluto, quam calamitosas possideant opes, non vident, bona etiam pars malo suo altius indormit, quam ut ullis clamoribus expurgiscatur.'

²⁶⁵ See 'Pluto' in *OXD*. This definition is also observed by the footnote in Calvin 1994: 309. Higman (1970: 4) points out: Calvin had a 'solid grounding in classical literature.'

²⁶⁶ See 'Hades' in *OCD*.

Thus the pope was for Calvin both the god of death and the wealth-giver. The pope corrupted the meaning of the office and duty of the bishop and deceived the people to believe in a worldly value system. He was, in Calvin's view, the source of evils in the church.

At the same time, the pope was also the *romanus archipirata*,²⁶⁷ who together with his bishops had drained financial resources of the people. The bishops, who were seen by Calvin as robbers and pirates, had cooperated with the pope to pursue self-interest and comfort. Together they corrupted the physical and spiritual well being of the church.

Thus Calvin pressed on. Why should Roussel want to join the 'flock of horned beasts' and ally himself with the bishops, abbots, and priors who subjected themselves to the pope?²⁶⁸ Roussel must have been led by Satan to accept his bishopric.²⁶⁹ He had to make up his mind if he could faithfully fulfil the duties of his office under the papacy or should resign.²⁷⁰ The effect was that even though it was not Calvin's purpose in this letter to call upon his friend to resign from the episcopal office, it was extremely difficult to perform faithfully his duties under the stark reality of the papacy. Roussel should give up his wealth and flee into exile. A final warning came when Calvin again identified the pope as the Antichrist:

You deceive yourself if you believe you have a place among the people of God, when, in fact, you earn your soldier pay in the army of the Antichrist. You deceive yourself if you hope to partake in the Kingdom of Heaven with the Son of God, when, in fact, you keep company with accursed brigands and take part in their deception and robberies.²⁷¹

As it turns out, the *Epistolae duae* reveal the conviction of Calvin about the papacy. The pope was the source of evils of the church. He corrupted her doctrine, her worship and her ministers. He was the Antichrist. Calvin had to warn his friends of the dangers issuing from the pope's government. With the pope the Christian could have no compromise, whether he was an ordinary Christian or a bishop. Seen in this light, the *Epistolae duae* allowed Calvin to articulate his conflicts with the pope with sharper language by way of his advice to his friends.

²⁶⁷ CO 5: 305. Cf. Pelikan (1984: 82)'s remarks.

²⁶⁸ CO 5: 308.

²⁶⁹ CO 5: 309.

²⁷⁰ CO 5: 309: 'Sed enim si praestando veri fidiq[ue] pastoris officio nullo modo idoneum te vides, hoc secundum est: male tibi assignatum munus ut deponas potius, quam indigne ac perfidiose administres. Cedendo enim, episcopum te non esse saltem declarabis: cuius personam nunc sustines, et functionem profiteris.'

²⁷¹ CO 5: 310.

2.6. *Articles concernant l'organisation de l'église et du culte à Genève* (1537)

If Calvin had to warn his friends to guard against the corruption of the papacy, the same was true in his reform work in the church of Geneva. By the time he had completed the preface of the *Epistolae duae* on 10 January 1537, Calvin had already returned to Geneva. He had already been participating actively and busily in the reform work there. On 16 January 1537 Calvin together with Elie Coraud and Farel presented the *Articles concernant l'organisation de l'église et du culte à Genève*²⁷² to the city Council. It was written to meet the need for further reformation of the church in the city.²⁷³ To achieve this goal four issues in particular were proposed to the Council for consideration: the frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper, along with a restoration and right use of excommunication; the singing of psalms; the instruction of the youth; and marriage laws.²⁷⁴ As this document was written to rectify the order of the church in Geneva, we find ample evidence that it was written in conscious effort to correct the errors of the papacy as well.

2.6.1. Papal Excommunication Corrected

Thus with the proposal of the frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper the immediate concern was that those who came to the Communion be approved members of Christ. At the same time, the *Articles* took great care to make sure that excommunication might be rightly administered. The reason was due to the fact that it had been abused under the papacy. Excommunication under the 'kingdom of the pope' had become a most terrible evil. The good purpose that the Lord intended for the church had been lost. Now it should be recovered properly.²⁷⁵

2.6.2. The Kingdom of the Pope Vs the Kingdom of Christ

The *Articles* went on to suggest that all the citizens of Geneva had to swear to a Confession of Faith prepared by the ministers. The purpose of this requirement was 'in order to recognize those in harmony with the gospel, and those loving rather to be of the kingdom of the Pope than of the kingdom of Jesus Christ.'²⁷⁶ Clearly, the kingdom of the pope and the kingdom of Jesus Christ were juxtaposed for dramatic effect. In order to uphold the purity of religion, the city of Geneva must have nothing

²⁷² CO 10a: 5-14; OS 1: 369-77; CTT 144-56.

²⁷³ CO 21: 59.

²⁷⁴ Courvoisier 1965: 129-31; Höpel 1985: 56-67.

²⁷⁵ CO 10: 9; CTT 51.

²⁷⁶ CO 10: 11; CTT 53.

to do with the kingdom of the pope. The subjects of the pope and the people of Christ belonged to two opposite camps.

2.6.3. The Singing of the Psalms

With the singing of the psalms, the *Articles* also have something to say about the pope. It was pointed out that the singing of the psalms was the practice of the ancient church and had found evidence in Paul himself. Thus, psalms should be sung by the people.²⁷⁷ When the people joined in this praise,

it will be thus appreciated of what benefit and consolation the Pope and those that belong to him have deprived the Church.²⁷⁸

The reason for this comment is that the pope has reduced the psalms, which ought to be true spiritual songs sung by the people, to a language unknown to the people. There was conscious effort to rid the church in Geneva of the pope's errors.²⁷⁹

2.6.4. Papal Marriage Laws Corrected

The last issue the *Articles* dealt with was also related to the papacy. In the introduction of the *Articles* it was suggested that certain ordinances should be put forth to resolve and rectify the controversies and confusions in marriage laws. This abnormality had arisen

out of the tyranny which the [pope] exercised in the matter of marriage and the iniquitous laws which he imposed.²⁸⁰

Where 'pope' appears in square brackets here, the French in fact leaves a blank space, which was understood to refer to the pope.²⁸¹ *Corpus Reformationum* noted that the author was unwilling to write the abhorrent name, and thus replaced it with an exclamation mark to express his feelings.²⁸² One can see no greater antagonism towards the pope in Calvin and the ministers by this deliberate omission!

²⁷⁷ For the importance of psalm-singing for Calvin, see Pettegree (2002b: 124-5).

²⁷⁸ CO 10: 12: 'Oultre par cela on pourra cognoestre de quel bien et de quelle consolation be pape et les siens ont priue lesglise...'; CTT 54.

²⁷⁹ Cf. OS 2: 12-18 and Battles' translation of the 'Letter to the Reader' in Calvin 1980c.

²⁸⁰ CTT 48.

²⁸¹ CO 10: 6-7: 'Finablement la tirannie que az exerce le! _____ en matiere de mariages et les loyx jniques quil y a impose font quil suruient beaucoup de controversies pour les quelles vuyder il seroyt bon aduier de fere centaynes ordonnances par les quelles on eust a se y gouuerner et quant jl y aduiendroyt quelque different, mettre bon ordre a les appayer.'

²⁸² CO 10: 6, n. 3. 'L'original laisse une place en blanc. L'auteur ne voulant pas écrire le nom de 'pape' se contenta de le remplacer par un point d'exclamation, pour exprimer le sentiment d'horreur que lui en inspirait déjà la seule pensée.'

When it comes to the text of the article, once again the name of the pope was replaced with a blank space.²⁸³ Here the error of the pope was stated as having confused matrimonial cases by making decrees at his pleasure and against all reasons. The recommendation was to review the controversies that often ensued from this in the light of the Word: to assign judges and to make ordinances to judge the cases.

Thus the *Articles* demonstrates that in discipline, doctrine, worship as well as marriage laws, the reform in Geneva had to purge itself of the corruption and abuses brought about by the papacy. Just as the kingdom of Christ was opposed to the kingdom of the pope, there could not be papal elements left untouched in the city of Geneva. The latent conflicts between the conviction of Calvin and the papacy were reflected in the radicalism of the procedures taken to reform the church in Geneva.

2.7. Instruction et confession de foy (1537)

After a few modifications the *Articles* were accepted. About a month later, Calvin had completed the *Instruction et confession de foy*.²⁸⁴ It was to function as a simple summary of the Christian faith for the instruction of children²⁸⁵ in the aforementioned *Articles*.²⁸⁶ This work has a Latin edition which came out in Basel in March 1538 under the title *Catechismus, sive christianae religionis institutio...*²⁸⁷ Calvin took the Latin edition to fulfil a wider purpose than an instruction of faith for the children in Geneva. His aim was to persuade the pastors of the churches concerning the purity of religion in Geneva,²⁸⁸ so that they might 'become more certain of our union with them.'²⁸⁹

Both the *Instruction* and the *Catechismus* contain brief expositions of thirty-three heads of doctrine.²⁹⁰ However, both of these documents contain no polemical statement against the papacy. The only mention of papal corruption is found in the preface of the 1538 Latin edition. Admittedly, we have no reason to expect Calvin to speak about the papacy in every writing he produced. The purpose of these

²⁸³ CO 10: 13: 'Finablement pour ce que le a tant brouille les causes de mariage en faysant degrez a son playsir, determinant des diuerses jnuquemant et contre toute rayson...' The editor wrote, 'Ici encore, comme plus haut, le manuscrit a laissé un mot en blanc, probablement: pape.'

²⁸⁴ For the text see CO 22: 25-74; OS 1: 378-417. English translation is in *Instruction* (1537).

²⁸⁵ Höpfl (1985: 67): 'It was, however, neither short nor easy enough to be of use for children.'

²⁸⁶ CO 10: 13; CTT 54.

²⁸⁷ CO 5: 313-62; OS 1: 426-32; English translation in Hesselink 1997: 1-38. Cf. CO 21: 59.

²⁸⁸ OS 1: 427: 'Ut appareat de religionis nostrae puritate, nihilo minus secure esse persuasos, quam si monumentis centies consignata foret.'

²⁸⁹ OS 1: 427: '... quo veluti obside accepto, nostrae secum unionis certiores fiant.' Cf. McNeill 1954: 184.

²⁹⁰ In his catechism of 1542 (French) and 1545 (Latin), Calvin had changed to the question and answer method.

documents does not need a polemical tone. Yet, they are still important for our study in one particular aspect. They tell us what exactly in Calvin's mind the duty of a pastoral office should be. This confirms our previous understanding of Calvin's emphasis on the duty of a pastor as much as informs us as to his expectation of what the duty of the bishop of Rome should be in his later polemical writings against the papacy. Article 30 of the *Instruction* (and the *Catechismus*) gives a clear picture of the duty of the pastoral office:

Since the Lord has willed that both his word and his sacraments be dispensed through the ministry of men, it is necessary that there be pastors ordained to the churches, pastors who teach the people both in public and in private the pure doctrine, administer the sacraments, and by their good example instruct and form all to holiness and purity of life. Those who despise this discipline and this order do injury not only to men, but to God, and even, as heretics, withdraw from the society of the Church, which in no way can stand together without such a ministry.²⁹¹

The teaching responsibility of the pastor should be highlighted. Again, teaching for Calvin meant teaching pure doctrine. That means that pastoral responsibility has a doctrinal core. For Calvin, to be a true pastor, one must also possess true doctrine, and teach true doctrine. When pastors turn away from the Word, they are not to be listened to, neither can they be received as pastors any more.²⁹² Here, the true marks of a pastor, so to speak, are clearly spelt out. This point is crucial for understanding Calvin's demand on the papacy later in his polemical struggle.

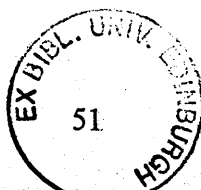
2.8. Conclusion

Calvin was a second-generation reformer. Unlike Luther, he did not have to wait for a conflict with the papacy to come upon him. Ever since his conversion, he was acutely aware of the existence of the conflicts between the papacy and the Evangelicals. The conflicts were latent there. From the time he became eager for the Word of God, he knew that the papacy opposed the study of Scripture by common people. When he wrote the two prefaces to Olivétan's French Bible he must have felt this opposition strongly. That is why he could not help but expose the opposition of the pope in his first preface. At the same time, the two prefaces revealed two basic convictions about his faith: Christ was the centre of true religion and there was clarity in Scripture that would reward those who sought diligently after its meaning. These convictions would turn out to be Calvin's weapons to meet the challenges of the papacy in future. The 1536 *Institutio* clearly shows by its scanty references to the

²⁹¹ OS 1: 413-4; *Instruction* (1537): 69-70. Cf. The article in the *Catechism* of 1538: CO 5: 351; Hesselink 1997: 35-6.

²⁹² OS 1: 414; *Instruction* (1537): 71.

pope that Calvin's centre of interest was not yet the papacy, though he had already seen some of the major problems of the papacy for the church. The pope's abuse of power in defining new doctrine and making tyrannical laws binding on souls was intolerable. Moreover, there existed two conflicting concepts between Calvin and the papacy on ecclesiology. Thus Calvin's teaching on the invisible church, or more accurately, his defining the church as the company of the elect was a corrective teaching, following, as one may say, the footsteps of Wyclif and Hus before him. At any rate, his chief objective in the 1536 *Institutio* is instruction of the faithful. But the writing of this book has already indicated that Calvin was a potential teacher, equipped with the kind of intellectual ability and Scriptural knowledge to face bigger challenges. It is no surprise that he soon was enlisted by Farel to embark on a reform of the church in Geneva. At the same time the disputation of Lausanne opened his horizon and showed both to himself and others what was possible with this timid man. It was in Lausanne that Calvin openly denounced the pope as the Antichrist and challenged the doctrinal teaching of Pope Gregory VII on transubstantiation. The centrality of the doctrine in Roman Catholic religion only made the boldness and intellectual ability of the challenger Calvin more conspicuous to the eyes of other reformers. When he returned to Geneva, his vision of reform for the church had widened and deepened. But before he laid his hand on this great commission, he responded to the call for advice regarding religious participation in papal ceremonies and the episcopal office. One common denominator behind his reply is his uncompromising attitude to the pope, who in Calvin's opinion was the cause of idolatries and corruption in the church. One cannot properly understand or evaluate the reason behind his radical anti-Nocodemite attitude and his hesitation to advise his friend to serve under old church without realising the depth of his enmity against the papacy. But then Calvin's radical attitude for the moment subsided. In his reform project for the church of Geneva, we found him step by step laying the foundation for the Genevan church, though, even amidst all these efforts, Calvin was sensitive to the threat of the papacy. Yet, what he wrote about the papacy was corrective or preventive measures rather than openly provocative polemics.



CHAPTER THREE: CONFLICTS PROVOKED: EMERGING THEMES

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discovered that when Calvin entered the stage of the Reformation as a result of his earlier participation in the reform movement he was conscious of the latent conflicts between the *évangéliques* and the papacy. We also saw that he took measures to counter the papacy in his writings and in his reform in Geneva. In this chapter, we will examine three incidents in which Calvin's conflicts with the papacy could be said to have entered a provoked stage. He became more personally involved in issues relating to the papacy. The first incident concerns his correspondence with his close friend Louis du Tillet. The second was his revision of his 1536 *Institutio*, in which he set a new purpose for his work through which he made his *Institutes* a new platform for doctrinal disputations. This change in purpose had direct impact on his later criticism of the papacy. The last incident was his defence on behalf of the Genevan church against the encroaching power of the papacy, as Calvin himself so understood it. Only when we grasp the significance of this stage can we understand how Calvin's conflicts with the papacy built up from initial conflicts into full-range and intensified criticism.

3.2. Correspondence with Louis du Tillet (1538)

Between 31 January 1538 and 1 December 1538 there was an exchange of six letters between Calvin and his friend Louis du Tillet which marked a turning point in Calvin's provoked conflicts with the papacy. The episode ended with what Olivia Carpi-Mailly described as 'un acte de rupture entre les deux hommes.'²⁹³ The first letter was written by Calvin to du Tillet on 31 January 1538 upon learning that his friend had returned to the Roman Catholic Church. The news was a great blow to Calvin in view of the close relationship between the two men.²⁹⁴ Louis du Tillet had been curé of Claix in Poitou, canon and archdeacon of Angoulême. He was inclined towards the Reformed faith and became acquainted with Calvin at the University of Paris. Since then the two became close friends.²⁹⁵ Du Tillet received Calvin in 1534

²⁹³ Carpi-Mailly 1998: 7.

²⁹⁴ It is noteworthy that the letters were written not in Latin but in French, reflecting the personal nature of this exchange.

²⁹⁵ Carpi-Mailly (1998: 8): 'Ses relations avec Calvin auraient débuté peu après 1530, à Paris, où, tout comme lui, Calvin achevait sa formation. Louis aurait donc fait partie du petit cercle d'intimes qui entouraient le jeune humaniste à cette époque.'

at Angoulême in his own house. Later he even resigned his curacy and without hesitation accompanied Calvin in the aftermath of the Nicholas Cop incident, under the name of Hautmont, to Strasbourg. Then he went with Calvin to Basel, and eventually into Italy. In August 1536 he was with Calvin in Geneva when Calvin was persuaded by Farel to stay in Geneva to help continue the reform work there.²⁹⁶ But it seemed that amidst his close relationship with Calvin, du Tillet's conscience was never completely at peace. For two years he felt that without an express command from God he had retired from his former calling. Eventually, at the end of 1537, he secretly left Geneva and returned to the Roman Catholic Church. Soon he wrote Calvin a letter informing him of this change.

The news sparked off an exchange of letters between Calvin and du Tillet. The significance of this correspondence between Louis du Tillet and Calvin went beyond the exchange of mere opinions.²⁹⁷ As Calvin and du Tillet had been close friends and allies, Calvin found himself emotionally involved with the issues raised in their communications.²⁹⁸ These issues were ecclesiological in nature, and they were later to be seen as related intimately to the papacy. As a result of this correspondence, Calvin's awareness of the close relationship between the papacy and contemporary ecclesiological issues was raised to a level that he found them to be significant enough to deserve closer treatment in his later writings. In this sense, Calvin's correspondence with du Tillet marked an important signpost to help trace the history of Calvin's critique of the papacy.

Du Tillet's departure was based on his determination that the Roman church was still the church of God from which he should not separate. On the other hand, he did not think that Calvin's reform cause was justified. On 31 January 1538, Calvin expressed his astonishment at his friend's sudden change. As to the justice of his reform cause, Calvin replied that his conscience was clear before God, which testified to the firmness of his determination. As for the character of the churches under Rome, Calvin firmly denied that they were churches of God. He saw the serious implication of accepting them to be churches, for it meant that he and the

²⁹⁶ CO 21: 57-8.

²⁹⁷ Carpi-Mailly (1998: 7, n.2) tables the dates of this exchange:

- * Calvin to du Tillet: 31 January 1538, Geneva
- * Du Tillet to Calvin: 10 March 1538, Paris
- * Calvin to du Tillet: 10 July 1538, Strasbourg
- * Du Tillet to Calvin: 7 September 1538, Paris
- * Calvin to du Tillet: 20 October 1538, Strasbourg
- * Du Tillet to Calvin: 1 December 1538, Paris

²⁹⁸ On the key issues involved in this exchange of letters, see the analysis of Carpi-Mailly (1998: 7-20). Cf. Ganoczy 1988: 276-9.

other reformers would become schismatics.²⁹⁹ The most that he could concede to them was that 'there remains some *remnant* of the blessing of God' in them, in the same way he regarded the status of the Greek churches.³⁰⁰ He could only call them '*telles compagnies*,'³⁰¹ but not churches. If we did acknowledge them as churches, Calvin added, they would be 'our churches, not that of Jesus Christ.'³⁰² At this point he pointed out that Christ marked out his own church by other signs. 'The truth' or 'Christ's voice' was the most notable mark. Christ's church was the 'pillar of truth.' As Christ said, 'my sheep hear my voice.'³⁰³ This clearly shows that Calvin's rejection of the papal churches was based on doctrinal reasons. It was not so much moral corruption as doctrinal aberrations that constituted Calvin's denial of their ecclesial status.³⁰⁴ Consequently, the situation of these churches under Rome was worse than the Jewish synagogues. By comparison, idolatry in the Jewish synagogues was not so great, nor their abomination so horrible. In fact, Calvin considered that the state of *telles compagnies* should be better compared to that which existed among the people of Israel under Jeroboam, or rather under Ahab when almost the whole country had deserted God.³⁰⁵

Based on this analysis, Calvin warned du Tillet that 'it is a step towards separation from the church of God when any one joins that which is opposed to him.'³⁰⁶ Those who returned to the Roman church were voluntarily bringing themselves again under bondage. These people would never be able to endure the heat of God's judgment.

Calvin's letter did not go unanswered. On 10 March 1538, du Tillet wrote Calvin a reply.³⁰⁷ His long letter only revealed the difference between himself and Calvin regarding not only the ecclesial status of the Roman church but also the source of reform in the church. This latter issue also showed that ecclesiological issues were in the final analysis intimately related to the papacy. At first, du Tillet showed his agreement with Calvin's reformist ideas. He agreed with Calvin the principle that 'the just shall live by faith.'³⁰⁸ He defended as Calvin did the freedom

²⁹⁹ CO 10b: 148.

³⁰⁰ CO 10b: 148; LJC 1: 62.

³⁰¹ CO 10b: 149.

³⁰² CO 10b: 148; LJC 1: 62.

³⁰³ CO 10b: 148-9; LJC 1: 62.

³⁰⁴ This emphasis already hinted at Calvin's reason for rejecting the papacy in later years—a point to be confirmed later in this study.

³⁰⁵ CO 10b: 149.

³⁰⁶ CO 10b: 149: 'c'est un degré pour se diviser de l'eglise de Dieu, quand on se conioinct a ce qui luy est contraire'

³⁰⁷ CO 10b: 163-178.

³⁰⁸ CO 10b: 166

of conscience against tyranny.³⁰⁹ He also criticised corruption in the church.³¹⁰ However, he was obviously not convinced by Calvin's position regarding the ecclesial status of the Roman churches and schism. He argued that the churches to which he had returned truly bore the title of the church of God.³¹¹ The validity of the sacrament of baptism in these churches was undeniable. From the validity of baptism he deduced that the ministry under the Roman church had the same validity, for only a true ministry can make baptism efficacious.³¹² If there were errors in doctrine and sacraments, as was pointed out by Calvin, these did not invalidate their spiritual reality as churches of God. Among them was the name of God and Jesus 'truly and publicly invoked, his Word proclaimed, his sacraments administered.'³¹³ Moreover, du Tillet believed that the church never betrayed the law of God or the teaching of Christ. In fact, the church could not err, since she had the guidance of the Holy Spirit ever since the apostolic time.³¹⁴ The implication of du Tillet's argument was clear. Those who did withdraw themselves from these churches only proved themselves schismatics.³¹⁵

Indeed, the church needed reform, but this should come through legitimate ways, by those who had 'the power to change or to correct the public form of religion.'³¹⁶ Effectively, these came from the ecclesiastical authorities *and* the pope. As for the simple believer, his duty was to continue to follow the divine and ecclesiastical law.³¹⁷

Unfortunately, du Tillet's letter probably never reached Calvin as he had been driven out of Geneva by the time the letter arrived at the city.³¹⁸ For this reason we do not have Calvin's response. Calvin obviously was unaware of this letter, for on 10 July 1538, during a sojourn to Strasbourg, when Calvin wrote to du Tillet to inform him of the events which he experienced in his exile he made no mention of du Tillet's reply.³¹⁹ Then on 7 September 1538, on hearing of Calvin's exile, du Tillet

³⁰⁹ CO 10b: 166, 173.

³¹⁰ CO 10b: 171, 175.

³¹¹ CO 10b: 166.

³¹² CO 10b: 167. I am in line with Ganoczy (1988: 278)'s analysis.

³¹³ CO 10b: 168-169. Ganoczy 1988: 278.

³¹⁴ CO 10b: 176. One can see that it was this latter conviction that constituted the dividing line between du Tillet and Calvin. In the final analysis, du Tillet's thinking has never shaken off the Catholic conviction that the Holy Spirit has been guiding the church, which unquestionably guarantees its infallibility and indefectibility. The Spirit goes before the Word in guaranteeing the church's infallibility.

³¹⁵ CO 10b: 167.

³¹⁶ CO 10b: 179.

³¹⁷ CO 10b: 173, 176.

³¹⁸ On 23 April 1538, Calvin and Farel were banished from the city of Geneva. For an analysis of the complexities of events leading to this exile, see Naphy 1994: 12-52; Höpfl 1985: 77-79.

³¹⁹ CO 10b: 220-222.

wrote another letter to Calvin.³²⁰ This time, he thought it his duty to arouse Calvin to the awareness that what had transpired in Geneva recently was a providential chastening designed to recall his friend from the way of schism. What Calvin needed now was to make retractations regarding his conviction of his call and hence the lawfulness of the minstry and reform carried out by the reformers. On 20 October 1538, Calvin replied to du Tillet.³²¹ Appealing to the rule of his conscience, he was totally convinced of his call and ministry. Du Tillet's charge could not be justified.³²² This conviction of Calvin is significant, for when read in the light of du Tillet's letter of 10 March, it demonstrates that Calvin's call and ministry had one goal in mind: the reform of the church. It was a reform that the reformers did not wait for the pope to launch. His expulsion from Geneva did not deter him from his mission. If he and the other reformers were still seen as schismatics, then in the heavenly tribunal, the angels of God would bear witness to their innocence.³²³

In retrospect, the correspondence between Calvin and du Tillet was not an isolated event in the career of Calvin as a reformer. Issues regarding schism, the ecclesial status of the churches under Rome and the Reformed churches, as well as the urgent need for the reform of the church were acute issues during the Reformation period. These issues, as it soon became clear, were also inextricably involved with one another in Calvin's critique of the papacy. Were the churches under the papal regimes true churches? Could separation from these papal churches be justified? Could reformation of the church depend on the pope? Calvin did not wait until the heavenly tribunal to settle these issues. In the course of his career as a reformer, he continued to respond to these issues. His position regarding the churches under the papacy would be further clarified. Eventually, he soon realized that the papacy itself had to be dealt with more systematically.

3.3. The 1539 *Institutio*

While Calvin was tarrying in Basel after his expulsion from Geneva he put his hand to revising his original 1536 *Institutio*, begun while he had still been in Geneva. The work was completed during his stay in Strasbourg in 1539 and was published in that city in 1 August.³²⁴ Among other themes, Calvin began to develop his critique of the papacy in a more explicit way. As we shall see, this critique was

³²⁰ CO 10b: 241-245.

³²¹ CO 10b: 269-272

³²² CO 10b: 270: 'S'il estoit question de disputer de ma vocation, ie croy que vous n'avez pas telles raysons pour l'impugner, que le Seigneur ne m'en donne de plus fermes pour me confermer en icelle.'

³²³ CO 10b: 272.

³²⁴ CO 21: 61.

related to his correspondence with du Tillet and constitutes another important signpost for Calvin's polemic against the papacy. But before going into the details of this aspect of Calvin's development, we should briefly point out the change in purpose of Calvin's *Institutes* in the 1539 edition. This is necessary because it paved the way for Calvin's subsequent major criticism of the papacy in the *Institutes*. Then we will present the portion of critique he developed from the 1539 *Institutio* and explain how it connects with his recent experience.

3.3.1. From Catechetical Manual to *Loci communes* and *Disputationes*

It is well known that in the first edition of the *Institutes* Calvin saw himself as performing a fundamental instructional and catechetical task.³²⁵ His initial intention was

solely to transmit certain rudiments by which those who are touched with any zeal for religion might be shaped to true godliness ... especially ... our French countrymen, very many of whom I saw to be hungering and thirsting for Christ.³²⁶

However, this original purpose was changed when he produced the 1539 edition. Richard A. Muller's observation is particularly relevant here.³²⁷ In Muller's words,

the 1539 edition of Calvin's *Institutes* marks a crucial solidification of purpose and yet a significant alteration of direction.³²⁸

According to Muller, this change of direction can be discerned in the somewhat radical alteration of the title by Calvin himself. In the 1536 *Institutio*, the title had read,

Of the Christian Religion, an Institution [or Instruction], embracing nearly an entire summary of piety and what is necessary to know of the doctrine of salvation: a work most worthy to be read by all those zealous for piety.³²⁹

Then, in the 1539 *Institutio*, the title underwent significant change.³³⁰ The early subtitle was deleted, and the word order of the main title was re-arranged from 'Of the Christian Religion, an Institution' to 'An Institution of the Christian Religion.' Then he added a significant new statement 'now at last truly corresponding to its

³²⁵ Muller 2000: 26.

³²⁶ CO 1: 9; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 1.

³²⁷ I am indebted to Muller (2000) in this section and follow his presentation closely.

³²⁸ Muller 2000: 102.

³²⁹ This translation is from Muller 2000: 102. *Joannes Calvinus, Christianae religionis institutio, totam fere pietatis summam, et quicquid est in doctrina salutis cognitu necessarium, complectens: omnibus pietatis studiosis lectu dignissimum opus, ac recens editum* (Basel: Platter & Lasius, 1536). Cf. *Bibl. Calviniana* 1: 35-39.

³³⁰ *Joannes Calvinus, Institutio christianae religionis nunc vere demum suo titulo respondens* (Strasbourg: Wendelin Rihel, 1539).

title.³³¹ But this is not all. For by itself this alteration of title might just represent Calvin's natural reserve and modesty, as Doumergue has hypothesised.³³² Or it might represent his critique of the original 'publisher's blurb.'³³³ The letter to the reader in the 1539 edition can confirm this change of direction. This letter now identified the work as embracing 'the sum of religion in all its parts' primarily for the purpose of instructing 'candidates in sacred theology in the reading of the divine Word.'³³⁴ Thus the altered title did not imply that the 1539 edition became a smaller work or less ambitious. In fact, this new edition shows that, as Muller comments, Calvin has now 'deemphasized' the original catechetical intention of the original 1536 *Institutes* and treats his work as 'part of a large-scale theological "instruction."³³⁵

One may ask further what form this theological 'instruction' takes in the 1539 *Institutio*. One crucial passage in the preface to his readers may again point us to the answer:

It has been my purpose in this labor to prepare and instruct candidates in sacred theology for the reading of the divine Word, in order that they may be able both to have easy access to it and to advance in it without stumbling. For I believe I have so embraced the sum of religion in all its parts, and have arranged it in such an order, that if anyone rightly grasps it, it will not be difficult for him to determine what he ought especially to seek in Scripture, and to what end he ought to relate its contents. If, after this road has, as it were, been paved, I shall publish any detailed expositions of Scripture, I shall always condense them, because I shall have no need to undertake long *doctrinal disputations* (*dogmatibus longas disputationes instituere*), or to wander about in the *basic topics* (*in locos communes evagari*).³³⁶

As Muller suggests, although Calvin did not explicitly state in this passage that his *Institutes* is a set of *loci communes*³³⁷ and *doctrinal disputationes*, he 'points his readers toward this conclusion.'³³⁸ Muller provides evidence for his argument. The content of the work itself confirms this conclusion. The terms '*disputatio*' and '*locus*' occur throughout the *Institutio*. Take the term *locus* first. Although in most

³³¹ See Muller (2000: 102-3). Cf. *Bibl. Calviniana* 1: 58-64.

³³² Doumergue 1:593. Doumergue's opinion is pointed out by Muller 2000: 103.

³³³ Benoît 1966: 102-3.

³³⁴ Cf. the *Epistola ad lectorem* in *Institutio* (1539): *Iv.

³³⁵ Muller 2000: 103.

³³⁶ *Institutio* (1539): *Iv. Note that for the translation of this 1539 text I basically follow Battles' translation of Calvin's *Letter to the Reader* in the 1559 edition as Calvin followed the 1539 text verbatim in this portion of his 1559 Letter to the Reader. Exceptions are the last two phrases, '*dogmatibus longas disputationes instituere, & in locos communes evagari*,' for which I have adopted Muller's translation: instead of 'long doctrinal discussions' and 'digress into commonplaces,' as Battles did, Muller renders the translation as 'long doctrinal disputations' and 'wander about in basic topics.' See Muller 2000: 105.

³³⁷ For a survey of the usage and meaning of *loci*, see Breen 1947: 197-209.

³³⁸ Muller 2000: 104. These *loci communes* and *disputationes* were, according to Muller, indeed a theological system Calvin intended to build. Cf. Muller 1999: 123.

cases this term should be variously translated as 'place' or 'passage,'³³⁹ in some passages the term shows a special significance in its usage. Thus, for example, when Calvin began his discussion of the church, he remarked that 'now follows the third *locus, de ecclesiae potestate*' and then that the '*locus* concerning [this] doctrine has two parts.'³⁴⁰ Regarding the significance of the term *locus* in this passage, Muller remarks:

It is worth noting that the phrases *locus de ecclesiae potestate* and *locus de doctrina* have a far more technical implication than is conveyed by their translation as 'the section' or "division" on "the power of the church" and "the doctrinal side":³⁴¹ in both cases, Calvin specifically refers to sections of his own work as *formal presentations of set topics in debate*—and does so by using the traditional, technical language of dialectic³⁴² (English italics mine).

With the term *disputationes* this is even more evident. A survey of the use of this term in the *Institutes* shows that in most cases it cannot simply be translated as 'discussion' or 'discourse.' When this term occurs, the context and the topic under discussion show that Calvin had disputation rather than mere discussion in mind. Thus while in some clear passages, terms like 'dispute' or 'disputation' are correctly used in Battles' translation,³⁴³ in many other passages these same terms should also be used in our translation.³⁴⁴

³³⁹ This is based on a comprehensive study of the term *locus* in the *Institutes*, thanks to Muller's book, which gives me the motivation to begin a more comprehensive study of the usage of the two terms, *locus* and *disputationes*.

³⁴⁰ *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.8.1.: 'Sequitur nunc tertius locus, de Ecclesiae potestate... Locus de doctrina duas habet partes...'

³⁴¹ These are translations rendered by Beveridge and Battles. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat) & *Institutes* (1559/Bev): 4.8.1.

³⁴² Muller 2000: 107. Another example can be adduced: In *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.1.5, Calvin wrote, 'But let us proceed to set forth what pertains to this topic' ('Caeterum quod huius loci proprium est exequi pergamus').

³⁴³ *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 3.14.11: 'We must strongly insist upon these two points ... This is the pivotal point of our disputation' ('Duobus his fortiter insistendum ... atque hic praecipuus est nostrae disputationis cardo.');

4.6.15: 'And they tell many absurd tales about a *disputation* that took place between Peter and Simon Magus.' ('Et multas absurdas fabulas narrant de *disputatione* inter eum et Simonem magum habita.');

4.8.16: 'Theodoret relates that Constantine made this preliminary statement in their assembly: "In *disputations*," he says, over divine matters, there is the prescribed teaching of the Holy Spirit.' ('Atque hac praefatione in eorum coetu usum fuisse Constantinum refert Theodorus, In *disputationibus*, inquit, rerum divinarum, habetur praescripta Spiritus sancti doctrina.');

4.6.6: 'Although we have not yet entered that *dispute*, for the present I wish to make this point only, that they argue very ineffectively when they wish to establish upon the sole name of Peter sovereignty over the whole church.' ('Quanquam nondum in ea *disputatione* sumus, tantum hoc in praesentia habere volo, nimis futiliter eos argumentari, quum ex solo Petri nomine imperium in Ecclesiam universam struere volunt.')

³⁴⁴ *Institutes* (1559): 4.2.12: 'But on the other hand, because in them those marks have been erased to which we should pay particular regard in this *disputation*, I say that every one of their congregations and their whole body lack the lawful form of the church.' ('Sed quia e converso deletae sunt illic notae quas praecipue in hac *disputatione* respicere debemus, dico unumquemque coetum et totum corpus carere legitima Ecclesiae forma.');

4.5.1: 'We shall give first place to bishops. Would that it

One may conclude that in the 1539 edition, Calvin had developed his original *Institutes* as a catechetical manual into a set of *loci communes* and *disputationes*. In fact this model of presentation remained unchanged in later editions, in which he continued to expand his theological topics and deepen his disputations.³⁴⁵ This change in genre is of great significance for our understanding of Calvin's critique of the papacy. It shows that the inclusion and development of disputations in the *Institutes* were not merely incidental to the growth of this work. In fact, the *Institutes* became a kind of theological platform on which Calvin applied his critiques to his opponents in a formal and, in some cases, comprehensive way. In our case, it can be reasonably said that by using a new genre in his *Institutes*, Calvin deepened his critique of the papacy with results that were of far-reaching consequences in a long run.

3.3.2. The Church under the Papacy

Compared to the 1536 *Institutio*, the 1539 edition is a big expansion. The 1536 *Institutio* consists of six chapters, but the 1539 edition grew to seventeen chapters. It should be noted, however, that, although in terms of size, the 1539 edition is three times as large as the original,³⁴⁶ Calvin's comment on the papacy, except on one occasion, appears to be just a passing reference. For one thing, he did not use the term *papatus* at all, although he did mention the pope (*papa*) a number of times. In most cases, he referred to the pope or his papal kingdom or government. In these cases, for example, he was repeating his criticisms in the 1536 *Institutio* regarding papal bulls on indulgences and the pope's trampling of the grace of Christ and his gospel in issuing these bulls. Or he was rejecting the power of the pope who exercised his tyranny in opposing the Word of God.³⁴⁷ All these appear to indicate that at this stage in the development of the *Institutes*, the papacy did not yet become a major concern to Calvin. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that the papacy did not become one separate topic among other disputations.

However, these observations do not mean that the papacy remained a trivial issue for Calvin. Our study up to this point does not support this view. In fact, the material content of the 1539 *Institutio* demonstrates that his view against the papacy

were an honor to give them first place in this disputation!' ('Dabimus autem primum locum Episcopis: quibus utinam hoc honori esse posset, in hac *disputatione* primum tenere ordinem.')

³⁴⁵ Muller 2000: 118-9.

³⁴⁶ Wendel 1965: 114; Hesselink 1965: 66.

³⁴⁷ *Institutio* (1539): 373: 'Tametsi non omnia diximus, quae huc adferri poterant: et ea quoque ipsa, quae diximus, paucissimis perstricta sunt: sic tamen debellatum esse confido, ut nihil iam sit, cur quisquam ambigat, spiritualem potestatem, qua Papa cum toto suo regno superbit, impiam esse contra Dei verbum, ac iniustam in Dei populum tyranidem.'

had been strengthened. As a matter of fact, at one critical point in his exposition of the church in the Apostles' Creed in chapter four, he finds that he had to deal with the papacy in the course of 'disputing'³⁴⁸ the ecclesial status of the churches of the Roman Catholics. The effect is that he had to subject the papacy to fierce criticism.

First, Calvin laid down the ecclesiological principle of the two marks of the church, a significant move since his first mention of these marks in his letter to Francis I in the 1536 *Institutio*.³⁴⁹

Indeed, wherever we see the Word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to the institution of Christ, there, it is not to be doubted, is a church of God. ... We have laid down as distinguishing marks of the church the preaching of the Word and the observance of the sacraments.³⁵⁰

Why did Calvin move the two marks of the church from the letter to Francis I to the text of 1539 *Institutio* itself? The best explanation can be found in his recent correspondence with his friend du Tillet, in which he used this principle to reject the papal church to which du Tillet had returned in order to convince his friend of his mistake. This correspondence certainly alerted Calvin to see the importance of locating this ecclesiological principle formally and properly in order to warn his readers of the danger of returning to the papal churches. For this reason, he also elaborated on this principle in more detail.³⁵¹ At the same time, it was also in this context that his new critique of the papacy in the 1539 *Institutio* surfaced, thus confirming our previous observation that Calvin's critique of the ecclesial status of the Roman churches was intimately related to his critique of the papacy.

Calvin first made a distinction between the universal church and individual churches. The universal church is a multitude of believers gathered from all nations. Although in its origin they are divided and dispersed in separate places, it agrees on 'the one truth of divine doctrine and is bound by the bond of the same religion.'³⁵² Under the universal church are individual churches. They are disposed in towns and

³⁴⁸ Strictly speaking, Calvin did not use the phrase *in hac disputatione* in this section in the 1539 *Institutio*. He added this phrase to conclude the same section in the 1543 *Institutio* to inform the reader that the nature of discussion was indeed a disputation on the ecclesiological status of the churches under the papacy. See *Institutio* (1539): 168: 'Sed quia e converso deletae sunt illic notae quas praecipue in hac disputatione respicere debemus, dico unumquenque coetum et totum corpus carere legitima Ecclesiae forma.'

³⁴⁹ *CO* 1: 22; *Institutes* (1536/Bat): 9.

³⁵⁰ *Institutio* (1539): 142: 'Ubi enim cumque Dei verbum sincere praedicari atque audiri, ubi sacramenta ex Christi instituto administrari videmus, illic aliquam esse Dei ecclesiam nullo modo ambigendum est. ... Symbola ecclesiae dignoscendae, verbi praedicationem, sacramentorumque observationem posuimus.' In working out the translation, I compare, where it is possible, with Battles' translation of the 1559 *Institutio*. In some cases, *Institutes* (1559/Bat) provides useful and reference, as is the text here. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.1.9.

³⁵¹ *Institutio* (1539): 142-8.

³⁵² *Institutio* (1539): 142.

villages according to human need, so that each rightly has the name and authority of the church.³⁵³ Here it is noteworthy that in this context Calvin did not define the church as God's elect, as he did in the 1536 *Institutio*. Now he spoke of individual churches and the emphasis was laid on the agreement on 'the one truth of divine doctrine,' a noteworthy point by itself. Obviously he was utilizing the ecclesiological principle of the two marks of the true church, which are measurable and can be used as test for a congregation. Accordingly, Calvin warned that for a congregation having the title of the 'church' was not sufficient for being a true church. Every congregation that claims the name church must be tested by these two marks as a touchstone.³⁵⁴

But if a congregation is to be tested against the distinguishing mark of the pure preaching of the Word of God, in what, one will ask, does this consists? Does it refer to all the articles of Christian doctrine? Calvin pointed out that not all the articles (*capita*) of true doctrine were of the same form.³⁵⁵ He made a distinction between two classes of them. Some were *necessary doctrines*, which should be certain and unquestioned by all men as the proper principles of religion.³⁵⁶ Others belonged to those disputed doctrines, which, though unsettled, still did not break the unity of faith.³⁵⁷ Of the former, which are important for us to note for their significance for understanding Calvin's attitude to the papacy, Calvin cited three articles: that God is one; that Christ is God and the Son of God; and that our salvation rests on God's mercy.³⁵⁸ That is, these three doctrines were among those necessary doctrines (*necessariae doctrinae*), or chief doctrine of religion (*praecipua religionis doctrina*), that constituted the pure Word of God which characterized a true church. As we shall see, Calvin would further elaborate on these necessary doctrines in later years, and they would constitute an important place in Calvin's critique of the papacy.

It should be noted also that in a way Calvin in the 1539 *Institutio* clarified why he made the marks of the church as consisting in two and not three, excluding, for example, Bucer's third mark of the true church, which is discipline.³⁵⁹ On the one hand, he wanted to avoid the errors of the Anabaptists³⁶⁰ who judged the church on

³⁵³ *Institutio* (1539): 142.

³⁵⁴ *Institutio* (1539): 143.

³⁵⁵ *Institutio* (1539): 143: 'Non enim unius sunt formae omnia verae doctrinae capita.'

³⁵⁶ *Institutio* (1539): 143: 'Sunt quaedam ita necessaria cognitu, ut fixa esse et indubitata omnibus oporteat, ceu propria religionis placita.'

³⁵⁷ *Institutio* (1539): 143.

³⁵⁸ *Institutio* (1539): 143.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Burnett 1991: 453; van't Spijker 1996: 271.

³⁶⁰ For Calvin's earliest conflicts with the Anabaptists, see *CO* 21: 59.

moral grounds.³⁶¹ These people, when they did not see a quality of life corresponding to the doctrine of the gospel among those to whom it is preached, immediately judged that there no church existed.³⁶² Here, Calvin appealed to the need for being considerate.³⁶³ Otherwise, one became a sort of airy spirit. The worst consequence was that

because they think no church exists where there are not perfect purity and integrity of life, they depart out of hatred of sin from the lawful church, while they believe themselves to be turning aside from the faction of the wicked.³⁶⁴

On the other hand, this narrowing down of criteria show that the issue at stake in Calvin's critique of the Roman church and the papacy was principally theological and doctrinal in nature. He did not reject the Roman church or the papacy on moral or political grounds. This puts Calvin standing side by side with Luther,³⁶⁵ and distinguishes him from all Roman Catholic humanists or reformers who attacked the moral corruption of the church without touching the territory of doctrinal reform. By contrast, Calvin's diagnosis of the illness of the Roman Catholic Church went deeper. He went to the heart of the disease and unraveled the causes of the death of the church. Thus he wrote,

As soon as falsehood breaks into the citadel of religion and the sum of necessary doctrine is perverted and the use of the sacraments falls to the ground, surely the death of the church follows—just as a man's life is ended when his throat is cut or his heart fatally stabbed.³⁶⁶

But who brought about the death of the church? At this critical point, Calvin's severe criticism of the papacy entered. Calvin writes:

As this is the state of things under popery, one can understand how much of the church remains there. Instead of the ministry of the Word, a perverse instruction forged with lies rules there. The foulest sacrilege has been introduced in place of the Lord's Supper. The worship of God has been deformed by a diverse and unbearable mass of superstitions. Doctrine, without which Christianity cannot

³⁶¹ *Institutio* (1539): 144.

³⁶² *Institutio* (1539): 144: 'Dum enim apud eos quibus Evangelium annuntiatur, eius doctrinae non respondere vitae fructum vident, nullam illic esse ecclesiam statim iudicant.'

³⁶³ *Institutio* (1539): 144: 'In vitae autem imperfectione toleranda multo longius procedere indulgentia nostra debet'

³⁶⁴ *Institutio* (1539): 144: 'Quia enim non putant esse ecclesiam ubi non est solida vitae puritas et integritas: scelerum odio, a legitima ecclesia discedunt, dum a factione improborum declinare se putant.' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.1.13.

³⁶⁵ In 1521-1522, Luther, in rejecting the papacy, had laid down the gospel and the sacraments as the two marks of the true church. The gospel even outranks the sacrament as the most certain and noble mark of the church. See Hendrix 1981: 129.

³⁶⁶ *Institutio* (1539): 147: 'Atqui, simul in arcem religionis mendacium irrupit, summa necessariae doctrinae inversa est, sacramentorum usus corrumpitur: certe ecclesiae interitus consequitur; perinde atque de vita hominis actum est, iugulo transfixo, vel praecordiis letaliter sauciatis.' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.2.1.

stand, has been entirely buried and driven out. Public assemblies have become schools of idolatry and ungodliness.³⁶⁷

Here one can see that Calvin's weapon of the two marks of the church and his critique of the papacy meet together. Following his train of thought, one can see why he used the derogatory term 'popery' (*papismus*) instead of 'papacy' (*papatus*) here, for it truly reflects his anger and severity against the papacy who, in his eyes, had played the role as the destroyer of the church.

The consequence of this critique was that Calvin could then strip 'all the churches' under the 'Roman idol's tyranny' of the title of 'true church.'³⁶⁸ Instead of the name 'church' (*ecclesia*), Calvin could only represent each of them as an assembly (*coetus*). He knew that 'if they are churches, the power of the keys is in their hands,' and that 'again, if they are churches, Christ's promise prevails among them: "Whatever you bind," etc.'³⁶⁹ Thus he wrote,

Again, who has without exception dared to call that assembly 'church' where the Lord's Word is openly and with impunity trodden under foot? where his ministry, the church's chief sinew, indeed its very soul, is destroyed?³⁷⁰

To these assemblies there was no necessity of subjection. No obedience to it was awaiting us. As a result, Calvin could justify withdrawal from the Roman Catholic communion without being charged as schismatic.

If the churches under the papacy were not true churches, then what had become of each one of them? Calvin, reminscent of his previous argument in his correspondence with du Tillet, compared the church under the papacy to the Jews in the Old Testament. In the past, certain peculiar prerogatives remained among the Jews. They had God's covenant and circumcision. In the same way, the church under the papacy, though lying in destruction still had vestiges of the church (*vestigia ecclesiae*) among them.³⁷¹ However, Calvin was careful to point out that this was a providential preservation. Thus, as with the Jews, they still had the baptism, which is

³⁶⁷ *Institutio* (1539): 147: 'In eum modum cum res habeat sub *papismo*: intelligere licet, quid Ecclesiae illic supersit. Pro verbi ministerio perversa et mendaciis conflata illic regnat institutio In locum coenae Domini foedissimum sacrilegium subiit. Cultus Dei varia et non ferenda superstitionum congerie deformatus. Doctrina, citra quam Christianismus non constat, tota sepulta et explosa. Publici conventus, idololatriae et impietatis scholae.' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.2.2.

³⁶⁸ *Institutio* (1539): 147.

³⁶⁹ *Institutio* (1539): 148.

³⁷⁰ *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.2.7. *Institutio* (1539): 147: 'Rursum quis ausit eum *coetum*, nulla cum exceptione, *ecclesiam* appellare, ubi verbum Domini palam et impune conculcatur? Ubi eius ministerium, praecipuus nervus, atque adeo anima Ecclesiae, dissipatur?'

³⁷¹ Carpi-Mailly (1998: 10, n. 11) also give this observation: 'On sait que dans l'Institution de 1539, Calvin développe pour la première fois sa doctrine des *vestigia ecclesiae*, parmi lesquels s'individualise tout particulièrement le baptême.' Carpi-Mailly also points out the relationship between the formulation of the '*vestigia ecclesiae*' and Calvin's correspondence with du Tillet.

the *sacramentum foederis*.³⁷² This sacrament of the covenant was consecrated by the mouth of the Lord. It retained its force despite the impiety of men.³⁷³

The abrupt way Calvin concluded his discussion should also be marked:

The Antichrist has confused everything to such an extent that there we see the face of Babylon rather than that of the Holy City of God.³⁷⁴

Here again Calvin was using the apocalyptic image of the Antichrist to conclude this section. But who was this Antichrist? Calvin pointed out that Scripture predicted that the Antichrist would not sit anywhere than in the holy place of God and would profane the church by his sacrilegious impiety.³⁷⁵ Though there was no clear identification as to who this Antichrist was, Calvin seemed to assume that his readers would understand. And with Calvin's previous usage of the term, the reader does know. The pope was the Antichrist. This explanation is consistent with the outburst he made concerning the pope in his speech during the disputation of Lausanne and the fact that he had identified the pope as the Antichrist in his letter to Gérard Roussel. Now Calvin had to write his identification of the pope with the Antichrist into his *disputationes* in the new edition of his *Institutes*. Here under his rule the Roman Catholic Church in Calvin's view had become Babylon.³⁷⁶ This confirms our observation that Calvin's critique of the Roman church must in the final analysis be traced back to his critique of the papacy. The pope was the source of the evil. That also gives the clue to explain why Calvin had to reject the papacy so sharply in his treatment of the ecclesial status of the Roman Catholic Church under his rule.

3.4. Reply to Cardinal Sadoletto's Letter (1539)

The last and perhaps the most important incident in this stage in shaping Calvin's polemic with Rome was provoked by the letter written by the Catholic cardinal Jacopo Sadoletto to the city of Geneva. That Calvin was later asked to answer led him to engage the papacy in an even more personal way.

When Sadoletto wrote his open letter to the city of Geneva, he was sixty-two. Richard M. Douglas aptly characterised this stage of his life:

³⁷² According to Calvin, the Lord's Supper under the papacy was corrupted and completely removed from the church. Cf. *JCSE* Sermon 12: 176.

³⁷³ *Institutio* (1539): 148.

³⁷⁴ *Institutio* (1539): 148: 'Adeo Antichristus omnia conturbavit, ut Babylonis potius quam civitatis Dei sanctae facies illic appareat.' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.2.12.

³⁷⁵ *Institutio* (1539): 148: 'Quod si Antichristum illic regnare constat, eo quidem ipso ecclesias esse colligamus (quando sessurum ipsum non alibi quam in Dei sanctuario Scriptura praedicat) sed tales ecclesias, quas ille sacrilega impietate profanarit.'

³⁷⁶ Cf. Luther's *An Open Letter to Pope Leo X* (1520) in *WA* 7: 39-9; Woolf 1952: 333-47.

His later years offer a study in the reactions of a humanist in the hierarchy who was unwilling to yield on doctrine or the authority of the Church, while passionately committed to its reformation and recovery of Christian unity.³⁷⁷

Early in 1536, in the excursus in his Roman Commentary, Bucer, in reponse to Sadoletto's Romans Commentary of the previous year, declared that 'Sadoletto is the sort of Catholic in France that he would willingly negotiate with,' although, on the other hand, he 'refutes Sadoletto's allegations about the Reformation.'³⁷⁸ On 17 June 1537, Sadoletto attempted to open up friendly correspondence with Philip Melanchthon. On 15 July 1538, he wrote to Johann Sturm, the rector of the new school in Strasbourg. Although these efforts were fruitless, he maintained his personal affection for Sturm, Melanchthon and Bucer. In the summer of 1538, he wrote 'An Exhortation to the Princes and the People of Germany.' This work, never published in Sadoletto's lifetime, disclosed Sadoletto's interpretation of the schism in Germany and the nature of Protestantism. Sadoletto appealed to the moderates in the German Reformation, calling for them to return to Christian unity with the Roman Catholic Church, while he condemned the Lutheran heresy. He recognised the fault of abuses in the Roman Catholic Church but Germany should also admit the error of division and disorder. This is the reformed-minded Sadoletto, who desired for unity but was unyielding on doctrine and church authority. This is the Sadoletto that Calvin was later to refute.

3.4.1. The Occasion for the Correspondence

Sadoletto's *Epistola ad senatum populumque Genevensem*³⁷⁹ was dated 18 March 1539.³⁸⁰ It was delivered to the Small Council in Geneva two weeks later. It is unclear how Sadoletto came to write this letter. Although a colloquy was held at Lyons in December 1538, in which the strategy of the Catholic restoration in Geneva had been discussed, there is no evidence to show that Sadoletto attended this discussion. It is possible that Sadoletto wrote the letter at the request of the participants of the colloquy, as this letter followed quite closely the Lyons meeting in time.³⁸¹ In addition, the situation in Geneva also provided Sadoletto the occasion for

³⁷⁷ Douglas 1959: 117. I am indebted to Richard M. Douglas's study for Jacopo Sadoletto's life and career.

³⁷⁸ See Hazlett 1993: 520.

³⁷⁹ CO 5: 369-384. The English translation of Sadoletto's ^{letter} (and Calvin's reply) in the following is from Calvin-Sadoletto 1966, which according to the Introduction on p. 27 is taken from T&T 1, with 'some slight alteration in spelling, punctuation, and the [new] translation of a few words.'

³⁸⁰ CO 21: 61.

³⁸¹ Douglas 1959: 144.

the letter. Calvin and Farel were banished from Geneva on 23 April 1538.³⁸² Against this background Sadoletto's letter was sent to Geneva. There was no better opportunity.

3.4.2. Sadoletto's *Epistola ad senatum populumque Genevensem*

Sadoletto's appeal to the people of Geneva is a skilfully written piece of work. It has four divisions, which form a closely argued and appealing essay among anti-Protestant literature. To prepare us for Calvin's reply, a brief description is in order.³⁸³

3.4.2.1. A Cordial Appeal and Critical Complaint

From the beginning, Sadoletto showed his cordial attitude to the people of Geneva. He used very affectionate terms to build rapport with them,³⁸⁴ inviting them to return to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church.³⁸⁵ At the same time Sadoletto could not wait to point out that the departure of the Genevan people from the Catholic faith was due to the work of some crafty men. These people were enemies of Christian unity and peace, who cast seeds of discord and turned the faithful people of Christ aside from the way of their fathers and ancestors and from the perpetual sentiments of the Roman Catholic Church. Craving for new power and new honours, they assailed the authority of the church. They boasted of certain hidden interpretations of Scripture in the name of learning and wisdom.³⁸⁶ Sadoletto, on the other hand, reminded the Genevan people that Christian teaching was not based on human wisdom or learning, but on humility, reverence, and obedience toward God.³⁸⁷ Thus skillfully Sadoletto did not laid the blame on the Genevan people but on the reformers.

3.4.2.2. Justification and the Church

Tactfully, Sadoletto drew attention to the chief concern in life: the eternal salvation of souls.³⁸⁸ He appeared to speak in the interest of the people, supposing that every one was concerned about their salvation, and as a result would correct their view on the doctrine of salvation and return to the Roman Catholic Church. Embedded in Sadoletto's appeal was the assumption that the doctrine of salvation was

³⁸² Courvoisier 1967: 130-1.

³⁸³ Cadier (1965: 239-52) also makes an analysis of Sadoletto's letter and Calvin's answer.

³⁸⁴ CO 5: 370. See also Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 30.

³⁸⁵ CO 5: 369; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 30.

³⁸⁶ CO 5: 371; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 31.

³⁸⁷ CO 5: 371; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 32.

³⁸⁸ CO 5: 371-2. Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 32.

the dividing line between the Roman Catholic Church and the Reformation. For this reason Sadoletto attempted to present a resolution to the great question of the Reformation by explaining the meaning of justification by faith. He left no chance for anyone to doubt that salvation was based on Christ. He placed strong emphasis on the work of Christ, depicting the redemptive work of Christ as something effective, comprehensive, and even universal.³⁸⁹ On this basis, he stressed the importance of faith for obtaining this salvation.

We all, therefore, (as I said) believe in Christ in order that we may find salvation for our souls, that is, life for ourselves.³⁹⁰

He even went so far as to assert that this 'perpetual and universal' salvation was obtained by faith alone (*fide sola*) in God and Jesus Christ.³⁹¹ But he immediately marked out his difference from the reformers:

When I say by faith alone, I do not mean, as those inventors of novelties do, a mere credulity and confidence in God, by which, to the seclusion of charity and the other duties of a Christian mind, I am persuaded that in the cross and blood of Christ all my faults are forgiven.³⁹²

He defined this justifying faith:

When we say, then, that we can be saved by faith alone in God and Jesus Christ, we hold that in this very faith love is, indeed, primarily comprehended as *the chief and principal cause of our salvation*³⁹³ (italics mine).

After resolving the meaning of justification by faith, Sadoletto moved on to the importance of the church for the believer in relation to his salvation:

This Church has regenerated us to God in Christ, has nourished and confirmed us, instructed us what to think, what to believe, wherein to place our hope, and also taught us by what way we must tend toward heaven.³⁹⁴

Thus, internally, the believer needed the kind of faith that included love, even with love as the chief cause of his salvation. Externally, he needed the church. Therefore,

³⁸⁹ CO 5: 372; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 33.

³⁹⁰ CO 5: 373; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 34.

³⁹¹ CO 5: 374: 'Assequimur porro bonum hoc nostrae perpetuae universaeque salutis, fide in Deum sola et in Iesum Christum.' The text in Calvin-Sadoletto (1966: 35) translated 'perpetuae universaeque salutis' as 'complete and perpetual salvation,' but 'perpetual and universal salvation' as rendered here is in better agreement with Sadoletto's view of Christ's salvation as universal for all human being

³⁹² CO 5: 374: 'quum dico fide sola, non ita intelligo, quemadmodum isti novarum rerum repertores intelligunt, ut seclusa caritate, et caeteris christianae mentis officiis, solam in Deo credulitatem et fiduciam illam, qua persuasus sum in Christi cruce et sanguine mea mihi delicta omnia esse ignota.' Again, the text in Calvin-Sadoletto (1966: 35) translated 'esse ignota' as 'are unknown,' but it should be translated as 'are forgiven.'

³⁹³ CO 5: 375.

³⁹⁴ CO 5: 375; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 37.

he would not arrogate to himself anything beyond the opinion and authority of the church. He would proceed in humility and in obedience, and receive with all faith the things delivered to him as truly dictated and enjoined by the Holy Spirit.³⁹⁵ At the same time, the believer should beware of and shun deadly sins, among which was the dreadful sin of false religion, presumably as modelled by the reformers' version.³⁹⁶

Then Sadoletto appealed to the Genevan people to choose the true path for their salvation, that is, whether it was to believe in the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, or to follow the innovation introduced by the crafty reformers.³⁹⁷ To reinforce their decision, he defined the Catholic Church as

that which in all past and present, as well as in every region of the world, united and consenting in Christ, has been always and everywhere directed by the one Spirit of Christ; in which Church no dissension can exist; for all its parts are connected with each other, and breathe together.³⁹⁸

He described dissension as an ulcer, as some corrupted flesh, which would be cut off from the body but would not affect the unity and integrity of the body. He also briefly stated some official teachings of the Catholic Church (Eucharist, confession of sins, prayers of the saints) over against the false opinions of the reformers.³⁹⁹ Thus defined and described, Sadoletto's appeal appeared hard to reject or deny.

3.4.2.3. Two Persons before the Heavenly Tribunal

To reinforce this urgent appeal, Sadoletto pictured two persons before the dreadful tribunal of the heavenly Judge. One was a faithful follower of the Catholic Church, the other a heretic reformer. Both of them pleaded their causes before the sovereign Judge.

The faithful Catholic was one who learned his faith from his parents. In all things he was obedient to the Catholic Church, and revered and observed its laws, admonitions, and decrees.⁴⁰⁰ He agreed with all those who bore the name Christian to acknowledge and venerate the church as the mother of the faithful, and regarded it a sacrilege to depart from her precepts and constitution. A Christian should approach the church with love and humility while he would not allowed himself to be attracted to novel teachings. Even though the conduct of many prelates and ecclesiastics might anger or disappoint him, he would not renounce his faithfulness to the church

³⁹⁵ CO 5: 376; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 37.

³⁹⁶ CO 5: 377; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 39.

³⁹⁷ CO 5: 378; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 40.

³⁹⁸ CO 5: 378; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 41.

³⁹⁹ CO 5: 378; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 41.

⁴⁰⁰ CO 5: 379; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 43.

because he decided that it was his duty to obey their precepts, which was certainly holy.⁴⁰¹ In Sadoletto's mind the very assumption of the authority of the church and the church's relationship to God and Christ and to the believers could not be challenged. The duty of the believer was to receive what the church had taught, to be humble, and to remain in the bosom of the Mother Church for his eternal salvation.

The heretic reformer on the other hand was one of the authors of dissension. The rebellion of the reformer was not due, as Sadoletto carefully pointed out, to any doctrinal errors on the part of the Catholic Church. He was enraged with the corruption, manners and wealth of ecclesiastics and priests, and became their opponent. However, his dissension was also motivated by his own frustration when his desire to achieve honours and priestly office did not materialise.⁴⁰²

More seriously, the reformer's purpose was to destroy the power of the church.⁴⁰³ In order to achieve this, he trampled the laws enacted by the church, opposed the authority of councils, and scorned the authority of the fathers of the church. He excused himself for opposing the Roman Pontiffs for being tyrannical and for falsely assuming the name of vicars of Christ.⁴⁰⁴ In his doctrine, he taught that the believer should trust to faith alone and not also to good works.⁴⁰⁵ In the end he admitted that he was 'the author of the great seditions and schisms,' although he was 'not able to overturn the authority of the Church.'⁴⁰⁶

3.4.2.4. Unity or Schism

In the final section, Sadoletto invited the Genevan people to consider which of the two persons was guilty of error. Sadoletto's point was that he who followed the Catholic Church would be treading the right path. He appended two reasons for this confidence, which were reminiscent of du Tillet's argument. First, the church did not err, and even could not err. This 'inerrancy' was based on the fact that the Holy Spirit constantly guided her public decrees and councils. Secondly, even if the church did err, the innocent believer would not be condemned, since he had, with his

⁴⁰¹ CO 5: 380; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 44.

⁴⁰² CO 5: 380; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 44.

⁴⁰³ CO 5: 380; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 44.

⁴⁰⁴ CO 5: 380-1; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 44.

⁴⁰⁵ CO 5: 381; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 44.

⁴⁰⁶ CO 5: 381: '...totam quidem ecclesiae auctoritatem evertere non potui, magnarum tamen seditionum in ea, et scissionum fui autor.' Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 45. Sadoletto's letter may again confirm Bagchi (1991: 265)'s conclusion that 'the early Catholic literary response to Luther can best be characterized by its preoccupation with authority.' Bagchi (1991: 266): 'The controversialists had diagnosed the danger posed by Luther as a threat to authority.'

sincere mind and humility before God, followed the faith and authority of his ancestors.⁴⁰⁷ This was indeed a tempting suggestion to the Genevan people.

On the other hand, the heretic reformer was certainly unpardonable. For the reformers 'attempted to tear the spouse of Christ in pieces.'⁴⁰⁸ Their schism had resulted in more divisions, in which the reformers even disagreed among themselves. Sadoletto skillfully (and indeed beautifully) wrote,

Truth is always one, while falsehood is varied and multiform; that which is straight is simple, that which is crooked has many turns.⁴⁰⁹

This tearing of the holy church was the proper work of Satan. It could not be the work of God. Now the Genevan people had to make up their mind.⁴¹⁰

From beginning to end, Sadoletto's assumption was that the church's unity had always been the same. The Holy Spirit had always been with the church, and the church in his day was always in agreement with the ancient church. Salvation was only found in the church because the church had always kept the sound doctrine of faith. Departing from the church meant schism, a crime the penalty of which no one could bear before the heavenly tribunal. The church's weaknesses or corruption could not change her relationship with God. Her ecclesial status always remained intact in the history of the church. Reunion for the Genevan people was a wise and necessary choice. Heretic reformers had no future and they should be rejected and condemned. Their ultimate purpose was the overthrow of the authority of the church and the removal of the Roman Pontiff. But their doom had already been determined in the heavenly tribunal.

3.4.3. Calvin's *Responsio ad Sadoletum*

Four months after Sadoletto's letter was delivered to the Small Council in Geneva, the city, ironically, could not find the right person to answer it. On 24 July 1539, it was suggested in Bern that Calvin be invited to draw up a reply. In mid-August the Protestant theologian Simon Sulzer delivered Sadoletto's letter to Calvin at Strasbourg. At first, Calvin hesitated, but then yielded to the urgency of the situation. He wrote his famous *Responsio ad Sadoletum*⁴¹¹ in six days. Both Sadoletto's letter and Calvin's reply were published in Strasbourg in September. On

⁴⁰⁷ CO 5: 381; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 45.

⁴⁰⁸ CO 5: 382; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 46.

⁴⁰⁹ CO 5: 382: 'Veritas enim unica semper est, varia autem et multiformis est falsitas: et simplex, quod rectum: multifidum, quod obliquum.' Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 46.

⁴¹⁰ CO 5: 383; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 47.

⁴¹¹ CO 5: 385-416; OS 1: 457-89.

30 January 1540, The Genevan Council allowed the publication of both a Latin and a French edition so that the general public might be able to read the reply.⁴¹²

Calvin's work is a point by point reply to Sadoletto's letter.⁴¹³ By comparison, Calvin's letter was lengthier and its arguments were more substantial and powerful,⁴¹⁴ while Sadoletto's seemingly persuasive letter appeared to be loosely reasoned on some critical points. Calvin's manner was correct and in its way respectful,⁴¹⁵ while Sadoletto's letter appeared to be a little more hypocritical (in the eyes of Calvin) toward the Genevan people and unforgiving towards the reformers. The important point is that Calvin's reply furnished significant information regarding his attitude to the papacy. This piece of work picked up the main themes in Calvin's correspondence with du Tillet regarding the church and schism. These were expressed in a way that was diametrically opposed to the papacy.

Calvin's reply can also be divided under four sections: (1) The yoke of the Roman Pontiff and the legitimate call of the reformers; (2) The papacy, the church, justification, and other doctrines; (3) Two persons before the heavenly tribunal; (4) Schism and the rejection of the papacy.⁴¹⁶

3.4.3.1. The Yoke of the Roman Pontiff and the Ministry of the Reformers

Calvin engaged the papacy directly from the very beginning. He restated Sadoletto's appeal to the Genevan people in his own terms:

You lately addressed a letter to the Senate and People of Geneva, in which you tested their mind as to whether, *after having once shaken off the yoke of the Roman Pontiff*, they would submit *to have it again imposed upon them*.⁴¹⁷ (italics mine).

Calvin's perception is most significant. His correlation between Sadoletto's appeal to return to the Catholic Church and the papacy is crucial for understanding the *Responsio ad Sadoletum* as a whole. For Calvin, Sadoletto's letter was not just an appeal for unity with the Catholic Church. It was in fact a crafty device to place the Genevan people under the yoke of the pope again. Thus formulated, Calvin was

⁴¹² *LJC* 1: 159. Cf. Backus 2000: 37.

⁴¹³ Cf. d'Assonville 1988: 151-164.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. *CO* 21: 61.

⁴¹⁵ Douglas 1959: 147.

⁴¹⁶ At the end of his *Vie de Calvin*, Colladon remarked that Cardinal Sadoletto found himself effectively silenced by Calvin. See *CO* 21: 111.

⁴¹⁷ *CO* 5: 385: 'Literas non ita pridem scripsisti ad senatum populumque genevensem, quibus tentasti eorum animos, an sub pontificis romani iugum, quod semel excusserunt, reduci se sustinerent.' Cf. Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 49.

implicitly denying that the Genevan people had departed from the church. They had only departed, or, more precisely in Calvin's view had been liberated, from the power of the papacy. By itself this formulation carries a judgment on the papacy. Just as Sadoletto had attempted to alienate the Genevan people from the reformers, Calvin in return separated the church from the papacy.⁴¹⁸ Clearly, he was not rejecting the Catholic Church *per se*. It was the papacy that he was rejecting. It was based on this important distinction that he started out to answer Sadoletto's letter.⁴¹⁹ Exactly because of this distinction, Calvin's *Responsio ad Sadoletum* furnishes us with significant information regarding his view of the papacy. The papacy was not a scapegoat for the excuses of the reformer's dissension. It had constituted a real threat for the church. Sadoletto's letter had brought this conflict to light. Calvin's awareness of the problem of the papacy was sharpened as a result of this exchange.

Not only did Calvin deny that the Genevan people had left the church, he also asserted that the congregation in Geneva was a church and the ministry of the reformers was a call from God.

In that Church I have held the office first of Doctor, and then of Pastor. In my own right, I maintain that in undertaking these offices I had a legitimate vocation.⁴²⁰

It was because the reformers had a real ministry that he would not allow Sadoletto to attack them. He also saw that Sadoletto's letter was the worst snare laid for that church, because the real purpose of Sadoletto was 'to recover the Genevese to the power of the Roman Pontiff'.⁴²¹ Therefore Calvin had to oppose Sadoletto's counsel so as to prevent the Genevan church to be led to its destruction.⁴²² In Calvin's mind, his reply to Sadoletto's letter became a real struggle against the power of the papacy to reclaim its rule in Geneva. The encroaching power of the papacy was drawing close and Calvin felt personally responsible to react.

In reply to Sadoletto's attack on the character of the Reformers, Calvin associated the pope with a self-seeking kingdom that he himself never sought after:

Had I wished to consult my own interest, I would never have left your party. ... I have no fear that anyone not possessed of shameless effrontery will object to me

⁴¹⁸ Cadier (1965: 239-52) fails to make this crucial observation.

⁴¹⁹ To my knowledge, I have seen no one making this distinction in the study of this correspondence between Calvin and Sadoletto. Ganoczy (1988: 281) has discerned a similar distinction but in another context.

⁴²⁰ CO 5: 386.

⁴²¹ CO 5: 388. Despite describing Calvin as 'an adroit lawyer' making 'skillful defense,' Payton (1987: 208-44) did not spot Calvin's sharp awareness. d'Assonville (1988: 151-72) also fails to grasp Calvin's perception of Sadoletto's appeal.

⁴²² CO 5: 387.

that out of *the kingdom of the Pope (regnum papae)* I sought for any personal advantage which was not there ready to my hand⁴²³ (*italics mine*).

To the charge that the reformers devised a way to take ecclesiastical revenues to themselves, Calvin replied how he served Christ:

But if you think that our intention must be judged by the result, it will be found that the only thing we aimed at was that *the kingdom of Christ (regnum Christi)* might be promoted by our poverty and insignificance. So far are we from having abused His sacred name to purposes of ambition⁴²⁴ (*italics mine*).

Here again, in defending the integrity of the reformers, the kingdom of the pope and the kingdom of Christ were set against each other. The reformers would not seek anything from the kingdom of the pope. They would rather serve the kingdom of Christ, and for this cause they preferred to live in poverty. For Calvin, Sadoletto's judgment was totally mistaken, not to say slanderous.

3.4.3.2. The Papacy, the Church, and Justification

In replying to Sadoletto's discussion on doctrine and the church, Calvin again implicated the pope in his critique:

When the Genevese, instructed by our preaching, escaped from the filth of error in which they were immersed, and betook themselves to a purer teaching of the gospel, you call it defection from the truth of God; when they vindicate themselves from the tyranny of the Roman Pontiff, in order that they might establish among themselves a better form of Church, you call it a desertion from the Church. Come, then, and let us examine both points in their order.⁴²⁵

Later in the letter Calvin indicated that his basic purpose was to disarm (*excutio*) Sadoletto of the authority of the church.⁴²⁶ This was done by showing that Sadoletto's 'church' had corrupted the doctrine of the Scripture, that the teaching of this 'church' had no support from the ancient church, and that, more damagingly, it was the pope who was the root of the corruption of the church. Disarming Sadoletto of the authority of the church did not mean that Calvin was wrestling for the church's authority. He was just telling Sadoletto that his church did not have this authority at all. But Calvin's reply did not follow Sadoletto's order of discussion. He did not, as Sadoletto did, discuss justification first and then the church. On the contrary, he began with the church, and then moved on to justification and other doctrines. The church was Sadoletto's assumption that Sadoletto himself would not challenge. But Calvin challenged this assumption from the very beginning of his discussion.

⁴²³ CO 5: 390; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 54.

⁴²⁴ CO 5: 390; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 57.

⁴²⁵ CO 5: 391. Cf. Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 57.

⁴²⁶ CO 5: 402; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 74.

First, Calvin began with Sadoletto's commendation of the importance of eternal life. He said he would not speculate on Sadoletto's intention for dwelling on this theme. He just straightforwardly responded to this recommendation, pointing out that it was not very sound theology to confine man's thought to himself (that is, his own salvation) and not to pursue the glory of God.⁴²⁷ He agreed that preposterous and perverse worship of God was perilous to our salvation. But he maintained that the one rule of worship was that which God had approved from the beginning, that is, from God's mouth. Sadoletto's assumption was that the most certain rule of worship was prescribed by the church.⁴²⁸ Calvin, on the other hand, challenged this assumption because in Sadoletto's definition of the church⁴²⁹ something crucial was missing: the Word of God. For Calvin this was the clearest mark of the church. The Spirit and the Word must go together in the government and worship of the church⁴³⁰ for

the Word itself is like the Lydian stone, by which she (the Church) tests all doctrines.⁴³¹

But now the church was assailed by two sects, which in appearance did not have anything in common. These were the pope's party and the Anabaptists. Both of them were exalting the Spirit to the exclusion of the Word and were proved to be Satan's work.

At this point, Calvin told Sadoletto that he would give him a truer definition of the church. The church was

the society of all the saints, a society which, spread over the whole world, and existing in all ages, *yet bound together by the one doctrine and the one Spirit of Christ*, cultivates and observes unity of faith and brotherly concord⁴³² (italics mine).

With this church Calvin denied he had any disagreement. The reformers would revere her as our mother, and desired to remain in her bosom. For Calvin, the Genevan people and the reformers had never departed from this true church.⁴³³ It was the pope

⁴²⁷ CO 5: 391; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 58.

⁴²⁸ CO 5: 392; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 59.

⁴²⁹ See Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 28.

⁴³⁰ CO 5: 292-3. It is clear that Calvin's correspondence with du Tillet had continued in his reply to Sadoletto's letters.

⁴³¹ CO 5: 393: 'verbum instar esse lydii lapidis, quo illa doctrinas omnes examinet...' Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 61.

⁴³² CO 5: 394; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 61-2.

⁴³³ In the same year, that is, 1539, Luther in his *Against Hanswurst* claimed that the reformers were the 'true, ancient (primitive) church.' He continued, 'God and the Holy Spirit already sanctified our church through his holy word ... so that we have everything (God be praised) pure and holy—the

that has converted the true meaning of the church into one in which the Word is severed from the Holy Spirit, just as the Anabaptists had done.

From this definition of the church Calvin went on to the history of the church,⁴³⁴ again bearing in mind that his purpose was to disarm Sadoletto of the authority of the church. He attributed to the papacy the responsibility for destroying the ancient form of the church, while the reformers' work was to renew her. Thus he said:

Not only our agreement with antiquity is far closer than yours, but that all we have attempted has been to renew that ancient form of the Church, which at first sullied and distorted by illiterate men of indifferent character, was afterward flagitiously mangled and almost destroyed by the Roman Pontiff and his faction.⁴³⁵

Here Calvin challenged Sadoletto's assumption to its foundation. For Sadoletto, as has been pointed out, the church was always the same and had always been in agreement with the ancient church. There was therefore no reason to depart from the church. Calvin, on the other hand, argued that this was not true. In fact, the church was almost destroyed, and the source of trouble had been the pope.

Calvin had a true model of the church in mind. The only model of a true church was the one instituted by the Apostles.⁴³⁶ But whatever the contemporary world had now was 'the ruins of the church.' To show that Sadoletto's church was just 'ruins,' Calvin pointed out four things on which the safety of the church was founded: doctrine, discipline, sacraments, and ceremonies.⁴³⁷ All of these were found deficient in Sadoletto's church. Not only had the truth of prophetic and evangelical doctrine perished in Sadoletto's church, it was also violently driven away by fire and sword.⁴³⁸ The doctrine of justification was a case in point, on which there was no clearer difference between Calvin and Sadoletto. Calvin restricted the meaning of faith in justification, again with recourse to the support of Paul.

But faith, you say, is a general term, and has a larger signification. I answer that Paul, whenever he attributes to it the power of justifying, at the same time restricts it to a gratuitous promise of the divine favor, and keeps it far removed from all respect to works. Hence his familiar inference—if by faith, then not by works. On the other hand—if by works, then not by faith.⁴³⁹

word, baptism, the sacrament, the keys, and everything which belongs to the true church—without the additions and filth of human doctrine.' See *LW* 41: 223.

⁴³⁴ Cf. Payton 1987: 222-33.

⁴³⁵ *CO* 5: 394; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 62.

⁴³⁶ Cf. Flaming 1998.

⁴³⁷ *CO* 5: 394; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 63.

⁴³⁸ *CO* 5: 394; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 63.

⁴³⁹ *CO* 5: 398; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 67-8.'

He pointed out that Reformers did not repudiate good works. Good work is due to Christ.

We deny that good works have any share in justification, but we claim full authority for them in the lives of the righteous.⁴⁴⁰

To accentuate the free grace of justification by faith, he compared justification to election. Just as election is gratuitous, justification is also gratuitous. And just as our love cannot be the cause of election, so our love cannot be the cause of justification. At this point Calvin ridiculed Sadoletto's saying that love was the first cause of our salvation.

Wherefore, I was amazed when I read your assertion, that love is the first and chief cause of our salvation. O, Sadoletto, who could ever have expected such a saying from you?⁴⁴¹

Sadoletto's presentation of the doctrine was a self-defeating exercise. It only proved that the Genevan people could not return to the yoke of the papacy again. Even more so, each of Sadoletto's doctrinal points only served for Calvin to demonstrate that Sadoletto's church had broken her continuity from the ancient church. Thus, Calvin concluded that 'in all these points, the ancient church is clearly on our side, and opposes you, not less than we ourselves do.'⁴⁴²

3.4.3.3. *Schism or the Rejection of the Papacy*

Sadoletto's letter posed a serious charge of schism against the reformers and warned the Genevan people of the danger of continuing in the direction of schism. We can see how Calvin in reply linked his denial to a counter-accusation against the papacy.

For Calvin, as consistent with his previous view, moral degeneration or corruption in the church would not constitute a cause for the reformers' departure.⁴⁴³ The reformers departed only under a 'much stronger necessity.'⁴⁴⁴

That necessity was that the light of divine truth had been extinguished, the Word of God buried, the virtue of Christ left in profound oblivion, and the pastoral office subverted.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁰ CO 5: 398; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 68.

⁴⁴¹ CO 5: 399: 'Wherefore, I was amazed when I read your assertion, that love is the first and chief cause of our salvation. O, Sadoletto, who could ever have expected such a saying from you?' Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 69.

⁴⁴² CO 5: 402; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 74.

⁴⁴³ CO 5: 402; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 74.

⁴⁴⁴ CO 5: 402: 'verum nihil eorum nos perpulisset ad ea tentanda, quae multo maiori necessitate sumus aggressi.' Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 74.

⁴⁴⁵ CO 5: 402-3; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 74-5.

Consequently the reformers contended against evils in the church, not to declare war on the church, but to assist her in her extreme distress.⁴⁴⁶

In answer to Sadoletto's demand for obedience, Calvin asserted that there was no place for prevaricating obedience, or contumacious and rude humility, otherwise one was preferring men to God, despising God of his own majesty.

In reply to Sadoletto's claim that the church was with them alone, Calvin pointed his finger to the Roman Pontiff. He did not deny that the churches of Sadoletto were churches of Christ. But what followed was more serious.

We indeed, Sadoletto, deny not that those over which you preside are Churches of Christ, but we maintain that the Roman Pontiff, with his whole herd of pseudo-bishops, who have seized upon the pastor's office, are ravening wolves, whose only study has hitherto been to scatter and trample upon the kingdom of Christ, filling it with ruin and devastation.⁴⁴⁷

This recognition of ecclesial status of the churches under the papacy, a tactic he had not used before, only put his rejection of the papacy in sharper contrast. Here his attitude to the papacy was even more uncompromising. At this point one can see the connection of Calvin's thought with his previous correspondence with du Tillet and the 1539 *Institutio*. In his correspondence with du Tillet Calvin denied the Roman churches the proper title of 'church.' In the 1539 *Institutio*, '*telles compagnies*' only have the *vestigia ecclesiae*. Here in replying to Sadoletto, Calvin appeared to be more lenient. He did not deny that these were churches, but he immediately qualified his concession by saying that they had been brought to the very brink of destruction. But this apparent restraint on the part of Calvin only exposed his deep rejection of the papacy. Emphatically, he laid the blame for the condition of the church on the Roman Pontiff. Again, the theme of the Roman Pontiff as the Antichrist,⁴⁴⁸ foretold in 2 Thessalonians 2: 4, re-emerged:

For in all places where the tyranny of the Roman Pontiff prevails, you scarcely see as many stray and tattered vestiges as will enable you to perceive that there Churches lie half buried. Nor should you think this absurd, since Paul tells you (2 Thes. 2: 4) that Antichrist would have his seat in no other place than in the midst

⁴⁴⁶ CO 5: 403; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 75.

⁴⁴⁷ CO 5: 403; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 75.

⁴⁴⁸ To see the pope as the Antichrist did not of course begin with Calvin. In Reformation history, we note that in December 1518, Luther's suspicion of the papacy as the Antichrist began to rise. On 18 December 1518, Luther expressed his opinion in his letter to Wenceslaus Link that the Antichrist predicted by Paul was reigning in the Roman curia. A few days later, Luther criticised the bishops of the church, and particularly the pope, as sitting like Antichrists in the temple of God (2 Thess. 2: 4). See Hendrix (1981: 75). Wicks (1992: 184, n. 146) points out how Luther's application of apocalyptic themes of judgment against his papal foes was quite decisive for the beginning of the Reformation upheaval.

of God's sanctuary. Ought not his single warning to put us on our guard against tricks and devices which may be practiced in the name of the Church?⁴⁴⁹

Here it becomes clear why in the beginning Calvin wrote that the Genevan people were not departing from the church but were shaking off the yoke of the Roman Pontiff. In Calvin's reply all his previous criticism of the papacy came to a more coherent picture. Calvin's thought became even better organized before a concrete opponent such as Sadoletto.

We come upon a passage in which Calvin defined the office of the pope in his discussion of the power of ecclesiastical pastors. Basically, he saw the pope's office as having no essential difference from that of other pastors whose duty was 'to deliver the oracles which they received at the mouth of the Lord.'⁴⁵⁰ Only within this faithful service did the Lord allow reverence to be paid to the Apostles. Nor did Peter himself permit others to claim more than that (1 Pet. 4: 11). He certainly did not see himself as an exception. Paul, as another example, highly valued spiritual power (2 Cor. 13: 10). But he did not allow it to be abused. He prescribed it to be used for the edification of the church.⁴⁵¹ Calvin wrote,

Let your Pontiff, then, boast as he may of the succession of Peter: even should he make good his title to it he will establish nothing more than that obedience is due to him from the Christian people, so long as he himself maintains his fidelity to Christ, and deviates not from the purity of the gospel. For the Church of the faithful does not force you into any other order than that in which the Lord wished you to stand, when it tests you by that rule by which all your power is defined—the order, I say, which the Lord himself instituted among the faithful, viz., that a Prophet holding the place of teacher should be judged by the congregation (I Cor. 14: 29). Whoever exempts himself from this must first expunge his name from the list of Prophets.⁴⁵²

Thus according to Calvin, the pope was to be measured by his fidelity to Christ and by how much he maintained the purity of the gospel. Moreover, as a teacher he was to be judged by the church on these two counts, just as a prophet was to be judged by the congregation as prescribed by Paul. Only then might the pope boast of the succession of Peter or could obedience be due to him. Helleman considered this 'concession' to be another evidence of Calvin's conditional rejection of the

⁴⁴⁹ CO 5: 403; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 76. Pelikan (1984: 82) points out that 2 Thessalonians does not actually use the word 'Antichrist,' the latter being used five times in the New Testament, all in the Johannine Epistles. He remarks, however, that the equation of the Johannine 'Antichrist' with the Pauline 'man of sin, son of perdition' began in the early church and would seem to be almost unavoidable; it was also continued by the reformers.

⁴⁵⁰ CO 5: 404; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 75. The ideas found here were already stated in *Instruction et confession de foy* (1537). Here Calvin applied these ideas in his critique.

⁴⁵¹ CO 5: 404.

⁴⁵² CO 5: 404; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 77.

papacy.⁴⁵³ But if this was a real concession on the part of Calvin, then the concept of the papacy must be vastly revised.⁴⁵⁴ We will see what kind of papacy could Calvin actually accept in due course. Moreover, one observation should not be missed. Calvin did not say in this passage that he accepted the idea of the succession of Peter. In fact, at the end of this letter he rejected it, as we shall see.

3.4.3.4. Two Persons before the Heavenly Tribunal

Just as Sadoletto's letter had done, Calvin also ended his letter with the confessions of two persons before the heavenly tribunal. But, unlike the two figures in Sadoletto's story, these two persons belonged to the same camp. One was a reformer, the other a follower of the reformers—one may presume that he was a citizen of Geneva. Significantly, their defences exemplify Calvin's principle of church unity and allow us to probe deeper into his critique of the papacy.

Faced with the charge of the worst of crimes, namely schism, the reformer pleaded that he indeed had a strong desire for unity.⁴⁵⁵ He stated his principle for unity in these terms: First, his unity of the church was a unity that 'should begin with You (God) and end in You.' Second, he could not be at peace 'with those who boasted of being the heads of the church and pillars of faith.'⁴⁵⁶ To do so would be the denial of God's truth. Presumably, it was because God did not prescribe anything like these in his Word. These two points are of tremendous importance for understanding Calvin's ecumenical thought. The first may mean that Calvin would not allow a human figure to be the centre of unity in the church. The second simply means that he would not allow anyone to be called the head of the church. As we shall see, Calvin's principle of unity would be fully worked out in his 1543 *Institutio*.

In his defense against the charge of schism, the reformer pleaded that those he was at war with were not true pastors but ravenous wolves and false prophets. These were enemies of God's church. He was separating himself from these persons, not from the church. Old Testament prophets also had similar contests with the priests. But the prophets were not regarded as schismatics. What they wanted was to revive religion, although they were opposed with the utmost violence.⁴⁵⁷ This pleading was another piece of evidence to prove that the reformers were not dissenting from the church, but from the religious leaders in the church predicted in

⁴⁵³ Helleman 1992: 169-70.

⁴⁵⁴ Whether Rome could accept such a revision was quite another matter.

⁴⁵⁵ Steinmetz (1986: 94): 'Calvin ends his treatise with what appears to be an autobiographical confession of faith.'

⁴⁵⁶ CO 5: 409; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 85.

⁴⁵⁷ CO 5: 410; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 86.

the book of 2 Thessalonians. The reformer maintained that his heart burned for the unity of the church. He wanted to settle all controversies. He expected that both parties might unite with one mind to establish God's kingdom. But his principle was that all controversies should be decided by God's Word.⁴⁵⁸

The second person before the heavenly tribunal, the adherent of the reformers, was convinced that there existed a gulf of difference between the act of schism and the efforts to correct the church's faults.⁴⁵⁹ More specifically, he was persuaded that they were not departing from the church but from the false pastors and the Roman Pontiff. He was convinced that these were the Antichrists predicted in 2 Thessalonians. The titles of the Roman Pontiff as the viceregent of Christ, the successor of Peter and the head of the church, were vain titles.⁴⁶⁰ He knew how the pope came to his eminence and he hated his tyranny. So Calvin wrote,

It was when the world was plunged in ignorance and sloth, as in a deep sleep, that the Pope had risen to such an eminence. He was certainly neither appointed head of the Church by the Word of God, nor ordained by a legitimate act of the Church, but of his own accord, self-elected. Moreover, the tyranny which he let loose against the people of God was not to be endured, if we wished to have the kingdom of Christ among us in safety.⁴⁶¹

From hindsight, this text reveals that Calvin had at that time read about the history of the rise of the papacy, as he had made a judgment on this issue through the mouth of the adherent. It only required another opportunity for him to present this history to the reader. And he certainly would do so.

Finally, and even more importantly, the adherent understood that the reformers had succeeded in disposing of 'the primacy of pope.' They had to do so because the pope's primacy was opposed to the kingdom of Christ. He was convinced by the weighty arguments of the reformers for denouncing this primacy. Calvin left us this important passage:

And they wanted not most powerful arguments to confirm all their positions. First, they clearly disposed of everything that was then commonly adduced to establish the primacy of the Pope. When they had taken away all these props, they also, by the Word of God, tumbled him from his lofty height. On the whole, they made it clear and palpable, to learned and unlearned, that the true order of the Church had then perished—that the keys under which the discipline of the Church comprehended had been altered very much for the worst—that Christian liberty had fallen—in short, that the kingdom of Christ was prostrated when this primacy was reared up.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁸ CO 5: 410: 'nihil quaesierim, quam verbo tuo controversias omnes dirimi, quo coniunctis animis utraque pars ad stabiliendum regnum tuum conspiraret.' Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 86.

⁴⁵⁹ CO 5: 412; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 88-9.

⁴⁶⁰ CO 5: 412; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 89.

⁴⁶¹ CO 5: 412; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 89.

⁴⁶² CO 5: 412-3; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 89.

Thus Calvin's long letter has led to an uncompromising rejection of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. As a matter of fact, this was the first time Calvin mentioned this primacy in his writings. It was occasioned by Sadoletto's letter to the people of Geneva. For Calvin, papal primacy was opposed to the order of the church and hence the kingdom of Christ. He was convinced that the reformers had defeated this primacy by their arguments. But he did not detail these arguments for us. It certainly had to wait for another occasion for him to present them. That would be the next stage of his anti-Rome polemic.

3.5. Conclusion

With his correspondence with his friend du Tillet, Calvin's polemic with the papacy entered what I call a provoked stage. One could not sense it if this correspondence was isolated from his 1539 *Institutio* and his reply to Sadoletto's letter to the city of Geneva. But when read together, these three witnessed that Calvin's critique of the papacy had passed from a stage of latent conflict to an open clash. To say that Calvin was pained to see his friend returning to the Roman church is an understatement. But with du Tillet's letter reasserting the ecclesial status of the churches under the papacy and challenging the legitimacy of his own reform cause, Calvin was driven to a deep reflection on his ecclesiastical position and the legitimacy of his call. He could not but rise to the occasion and face the challenge. The charge of schism became so personal that he had to give an answer. His previous conviction surfaced in this challenge. He was certain that the churches under the papacy did not deserve the name of the church. He had to use the two marks of the church to measure the ecclesial status of these churches. From this conflict with his friend du Tillet Calvin was alerted to the need of facing squarely the challenge of the Roman church.

In the 1539 *Institutio* he began to exercise this responsibility. This task coincided with a change of purpose of his *Institutes*. The 1536 *Institutio* was a catechetical manual but the 1539 had become a work of *loci communes* and *disputationes*. This change might not look significant with respect to his critique of the papacy at this stage. But his ecclesiological thought had begun to channel itself toward a sharper critique of the papacy in this edition. Thus he used the weapon of the two marks of the church to measure the ecclesial reality of the churches under the papacy. Among these two marks, he used especially the Word as a touchstone for this test. This is clear testament that Calvin had the conflict of his correspondence with du Tillet in mind when he wrote these things. But in the 1539 *Institutio* he went

one step further. He delved into a brief critique of the papacy as he was convinced that the papacy was responsible for the sorry state of the church. In fierce anger Calvin labelled the papacy as popery. For the first time he had identified the pope as the Antichrist in the *Institutes*. He had entered into *disputatio* with the papacy in the new edition of his *Institutes*.

Sadoletto's letter to the city of Geneva completed this provoked stage. Just as Sadoletto's strategy was to alienate the Genevan people from the reformers and then isolate the latter for criticism, Calvin had bracketed the church from the papacy. He saw that Sadoletto's sinister trick was to recover the Genevan church to the power of the Roman Pontiff. Thus, Sadoletto's letter in fact led to head-on conflicts between the reformer and the papacy. In Calvin's reply, the issue of schism was intimately related to the issue of the papacy. It was not the church but the ravenous pastors and the Roman Pontiff that the reformers and the Genevan church were leaving. For it was under the papacy that the Word of God was buried and the pastoral office subverted. The pope should be a teacher, but he was unfaithful to Christ and his gospel, and did not allow himself to be judged by the church. In fact, he was the Antichrist. In the end, Calvin had to reject his primacy, for this primacy was diametrically opposed to the order of the church and the kingdom of Christ. This rejection was clear signal that Calvin's polemic with the papacy had reached a new phase. Although he had not yet launched a full criticism or offered systematic arguments against this primacy, he had only to wait for another occasion to see this happen.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONFLICTS INTENSIFIED: THE PAPACY AND THE REUNION OF THE CHURCH

4.1. Introduction

As towards the end of Calvin's reply to Sadoletto's letter he had raised the issue of papal primacy and claimed that the reformers had ample proofs to reject it, in this chapter we shall explore how Calvin was drawn into deeper conflict with this primacy and how he developed arguments against it. This indeed was a period of intensified conflict with the papacy and it covered the years 1540-43. We shall first study how Calvin became involved in the issue of papal primacy during the colloquies of 1540-41 and how he contributed to criticism of this primacy among the reformers. Then we shall explore how the 1543 *Institutio* demonstrated his reaction to this primacy as a result of his participation in the colloquies. The remainder of the chapter will concentrate on examining Calvin's arguments against the primacy of the Roman see.

4.2. Calvin's Participation in the Colloquies of 1540-41

The occasion of Calvin's most massive and systematic refutation of the papacy was sparked off by his participation in the colloquies of 1540-41. On 23 April 1538, Calvin and Farel were dismissed from their positions in Geneva and were ordered to leave the city in three days.⁴⁶³ Unfortunate this incident might be, it paved the way for Calvin to join the religious colloquies so critical in the final separation between the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches.⁴⁶⁴

Early in September 1538, Bucer invited the exiled Calvin to Strasbourg to help organize a French church there.⁴⁶⁵ On 18 April 1540, the emperor summoned a religious colloquy to meet at Speyer on 6 June 1540. This colloquy was transferred to Hagenau on account of the plague. Bucer, seeing this as an opportunity to reach a religious agreement between the Protestants and the Catholics, joined the colloquy and took Calvin with him.⁴⁶⁶ Although Calvin did not want to appear before a great

⁴⁶³ CO 21: 60. Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 16-18. Lane 1992: 144.

⁴⁶⁴ Doumergue 2: 588-640; Eells 1971: 243-302; van't Spijker 1996 237-56; Hall 1971: 235-66; Matheson 1972: 10-170; Lau-Bizer 1969: 148-71; Brecht 1993b: 215-28; Gleason 1993: 186-256; Lecler 1960a: 224-35; Ganzer-zur Mühlen 2000a: XII-XXIX.

⁴⁶⁵ CO 21: 60. See also Eells 1971: 231-233.

⁴⁶⁶ Calvin's theological ability was regarded highly by many. See CO 21: 60: 'Il lisoit aussi en Theologie avec grande admiration d'un chacun, et avoit pour cette profession de Theologie gages honnestes de la seigneurie de Strasbourg.'

assembly, he was eventually carried 'as it were by force to the Imperial assemblies.'⁴⁶⁷ This started Calvin's participation in the colloquies, which also turned out to be a great stimulus to his ecumenical thought.⁴⁶⁸

4.2.1 The Colloquy of Hagenau and Calvin's Impression

The Colloquy of Hagenau was partly a consequence of a conference held at Frankfurt in February 1539. This conference was called by the emperor's newly appointed minister, John von Wetzla (van der Veeze), Archbishop of Lund and bishop of Constance. After almost two months deadlock, a new advance of the Turks and the ill health of landgrave Philip of Hesse and duke George forced the Smalcald League to sign a compromise on 19 April 1539 known as the Frankfurt Suspension.⁴⁶⁹ The emperor promised to call a colloquy at Nürnberg on 1 August 1539. The colloquy would invite both theologians and laymen to confer together in order to arrive at an agreement on religion. The Frankfurt Suspension also stipulated that the pope should be notified but not invited to send legates. This was indeed a new way to resolve religious conflicts.⁴⁷⁰ The curia became furious that they were denied participation in the coming colloquy and warned the Emperor not to implement the terms of the Frankfurt Suspension. For the Protestants this meant that the papacy was obstructing any effort of reforming the church. Mistrust towards the papacy was there right from the beginning.

On 5 July 1539 the Emperor postponed the proposed colloquy at Nürnberg. It was not until 18 April 1540 that the Emperor summoned the promised colloquy to meet at Speyer on 6 June 1540. Rome was greatly alarmed and dismayed by the turn of the events, especially because the purpose of the forthcoming colloquy at Nürnberg was to settle the religious question by a gathering of laymen and theologians without the presence of a papal legate. On 21 April 1540, Paul III addressed 'Fatherly Advice to Charles V,'⁴⁷¹ demanding the Emperor call off the colloquy. The pope described the Protestants as more dangerous than the Turks. Instead of discussing religious issues with the Protestants in a colloquy, concerted action should be taken against the Protestants as well as the Turks. To achieve this, the pope advised that peace should be secured between the emperor and the Francis I.

⁴⁶⁷ See Calvin's preface in CTS *Comm.* Psa.: xliii; CO 31, 28.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Zillenbiller (1993: 40): '... deren Wirkung auf die Entwicklung seines Denkens und Handelns nicht unterschätzen. Denn hier begegnete er den virulenten Fragen in der Kontroverse und den dazugehörenden, je nach Parteiung unterschiedlichen Möglichkeiten der Beantwortung.' This is certainly true with respect to his thinking on the papacy, as we shall see in his 1543 *Institutio*.

⁴⁶⁹ Lau-Bizer 1969: 141-7. Eells 1971: 248-51.

⁴⁷⁰ Lau-Bizer 1969: 145-6.

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Gleason (1993: 300); *Bibl. Calviniana* 2: 1110.

Then a General Council would be called to suppress errors and settle religious problems. To the pope's dismay, the Emperor did not comply when political necessities dictated his action more than the pope's words. The colloquy finally took place, yet not at Speyer, where the plague had broken out, but at Hagenau, on 12 June 1540. The result was far from satisfactory. As a matter of fact, no colloquy took place. The papal nuncio Morone had come with King Ferdinand, who represented the Emperor. This time the Emperor probably had taken into consideration the pope's warning. Moreover, there was no agreement reached on a *modus conciliandi*. The Protestants demanded 'free discussion,' but the King maintained the pope's right to ratify any conclusions which the colloquy might reach. They could not agree on what criteria to base their decisions either. The situation was so bad that in the end, on 28 July 1540, the representatives were all sent home by a recess promising that the Emperor would call another colloquy at Worms on 28 October 1540. However, although it was promised that each of the two parties was to be represented by eleven persons with voting rights, at the same time it was demanded that the pope was left free to send envoys. Even more critical was that the results of any discussions were to be subject to the ratification of the pope. This was a clear indication that the papacy refused to allow its influence and power to be suspended in any religious discussions.⁴⁷² It is not difficult to see why the Colloquy of Hagenau failed. As Lau-Bizer wrote,

How could conversations on the religious question take place at all, as long as one side stuck rigidly to the authority of Scripture, and the other side stuck equally rigidly to the authority of the Pope, neither side being in a position to free itself?⁴⁷³

Now Calvin could feel the tangible influence of the pope in the decision of religious colloquies. In a letter to Farel dated October 1540, Calvin spoke of the Emperor's crafty devices at Hagenau, and he called the pope 'the Roman idol' that the Emperor was trying to please. In another letter, written to du Tilly, a French refugee residing in Geneva, Calvin gave a perceptive description of the situation in Hagenau. Although the theologian Frederich Nausea advised King Ferdinand to yield to the Protestant representatives the marriage of clergy and the communion in both kinds, on other matters in dispute

it was not lawful to enter upon them without the leave of our holy father the Pope.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² See Eells 1971: 270-2.

⁴⁷³ Lau-Bizer 1969: 163.

⁴⁷⁴ CO 11: 64-67, esp. 65; *LJC* 1, 195. The letter was dated 28 July 1540.

Calvin saw further that, even when another diet was proposed in order to settle the existing religious dispute, it had to be held 'under such conditions that, after each debate, the definite decision must be referred to his Majesty the emperor and his Holiness the Pope.'⁴⁷⁵ Calvin continued,

The intention of our opponents has been to extend their league and to contract ours. ... There is one section of our adversaries who cry loudly for war. The emperor is so embarrassed, that he dare not undertake it. The Pope, for his part, in good earnest is quite ready to set his hand to it, for he had made offer, by his ambassador, of three hundred thousand ducats to begin with.⁴⁷⁶

Clearly, Calvin already saw the pope as the roadblock to any religious settlement. In Calvin's eyes, the pope's intervention would not be for negotiation but to defeat the Reformation. This explains why throughout the colloquies of 1540-41 the papacy became a great hurdle that blocked any agreement. As we shall see, Calvin's involvement would gradually harden his attitude to the pope.

4.2.2 The Colloquy of Worms and the Deliberations of Protestant Theologians (8 November –18 November 1540)

The Colloquy of Worms was supposed to begin on 28 October 1540. Calvin left Strasbourg for Worms on 24 October 1540. This time he was formally sent as the official delegate by the council of Strasbourg to the colloquy at the suggestion of Bucer.⁴⁷⁷ But soon he was transferred to the Lüneburg delegation as the representative of the Duke of Lüneburg as a result of endless discussions in Worms on questions of procedure.⁴⁷⁸ As Granvelle, the Emperor's representative, could not get there before 22 November, the Protestants had time to deliberate together. On 8 November 1540, twenty-three theologians—among them Melancthon, Amsdorf, Brenz, Osiander, Bucer, Capito and Calvin—met together to discuss matters that they presumed would come up for discussion during the colloquy.⁴⁷⁹ This meeting closed on 18 November 1540. The following themes were covered during these discussions: justification, the Mass, the vow of celibacy, with the last meeting on 18 November discussing the primacy of the pope. One recalls that the primacy of the pope remained an untreated issue in the Augsburg Confession, 'in order not to upset Charles V and run the risk of his simply refusing to negotiate with the Lutheran party

⁴⁷⁵ *CO* 11: 64-67, esp. 65; *LJC* 1, 195.

⁴⁷⁶ *CO* 11: 66; *LJC* 1, 196.

⁴⁷⁷ Nijenhuis 1972b: 104.

⁴⁷⁸ Nijenhuis 1972b: 105.

⁴⁷⁹ Neuser (1969: 227) notes that 'Es war eine glänzende Theologenversammlung, die vom 8 bis 18 November siebenmal in Worms zusammentrat. Denn die berühmtesten Namen des damaligen Protestantismus waren vertreten.'

at the Diet.⁴⁸⁰ The theologians gathering on 18 November 1540 believed that the papal legate presiding at the Colloquy of Worms would force the Protestants to face the meaning of this teaching.⁴⁸¹ Melanchthon, therefore, emphasised at the outset that the theologians should work out solid arguments against the primacy of the pope.⁴⁸²

It is important to note how the theologians set out to refute this primacy before they met their Roman Catholic representatives.⁴⁸³ At the same time it is especially significant for our purpose to note how Calvin treated this subject among the opinions of the theologians. For the record of this discussion on the primacy we rely on the report of Wolfgang Musculus.⁴⁸⁴ For reasons we cannot explain, Musculus only recorded the opinions of five participants in the order of Melanchthon, Capito, Osiander, Calvin, and Schnepf. In this record Melanchthon began the discussion and ended it with a brief summary. It is of interest to note that we do not have the opinion of Bucer in Musculus' record. At any rate, Musculus' record appears to be incomplete, as it is impossible for such an important subject to have been covered only by 2-3 short pages. Nevertheless, we do have Calvin's record. As Neuser had noted, these reports have remained virtually unheeded in Calvin research.⁴⁸⁵ Musculus' report affords us to see Calvin's arguments against the primacy during the religious colloquies. We shall also see that these were developed into his later works, especially in the 1543 *Institutio*.

Melanchthon believed that part of that argument could be found in Christ's warning to the apostles when the latter were arguing who would be the greatest in His Kingdom (Matthew 18: 2; cf. 20: 20-28).⁴⁸⁶ In reply to their contentions Christ set up a 'simple equality' among them when he had put a child in their midst.⁴⁸⁷ Apart from this, history also showed that the Eastern Church had never sought confirmation of their ministers from the pope of Rome. They would not have acted correctly were this primacy indeed from God. As regards the Petrine texts,

⁴⁸⁰ Wicks 1992: 255

⁴⁸¹ Neuser 1972: 232.

⁴⁸² For an account of Melanchthon's view of papal primacy, see Melanchthon 1959: 320-335. Cf. Meijering 1983: 86-93.

⁴⁸³ In March 1540 Johannes Fabri, one of Luther's earliest opponents, had written *the Praecipui dogmatum et rituum ecclesiasticorum articuli, in quibus cum Lutheranis Catholici non conveniunt neque sana conscientia convenire possunt*. In the section *De primatu Petri et Romana ecclesia*, he upheld Peter to be *supremus inter discipulos apostolosque*. Then he asserted Rome to be *suprema et praecipua inter omnes ecclesias*. See Ganzer-zur Mühlen 2000b: 1194.

⁴⁸⁴ The report of Wolfgang Musculus was collected in Neuser 1974: 159-167.

⁴⁸⁵ Neuser 1969: 227, n. 95.

⁴⁸⁶ It is of interest to note that Cajetan in his *The Divine Institution of the Pontifical Office over the Whole Church in the Person of the Apostle Peter* (1521) had also used a parallel text [Luke 22: 5] in his critique of Luther. However, for Cajetan these texts did not disprove the need for papal primacy but serve to regulate the true purpose of the pontifical office. See Wicks 1978: 119-20.

⁴⁸⁷ Neuser 1974: 160-1.

Melanchthon was convinced that Christ's word 'You are Peter, and on this Rock...' referred to the ministry, not to the person, of Peter. Thus, the text was no support for a succession of Petrine office bound to places and persons.⁴⁸⁸

Capito maintained that it was necessary for the opponents to prove first that Peter had the primacy among the apostles. However, even if that were true, it did not follow that the Roman Pontiff had a primacy over all the churches of Christ.⁴⁸⁹ He did not believe that the succession of Peter could be proved.

Osiander's opinion was more speculative. Responding to Melanchthon who had previously referred to Matthew 20: 26, he said that Christ's words 'But you are not thus' is firm enough. He said that he had often diligently considered the passage in Matthew 16 [15ff] 'You are Peter.' If the authority of the fathers had not existed, he would have brought in a new explanation which would once and for all have abolished the primacy of the pope.⁴⁹⁰ Then he pointed out that there were in the Scripture a variety of metaphors concerning the structure of the house of God. Among them, sometimes it was God, sometimes it was Christ and now and then an Apostle who was called the architect (*architectus*). Also sometimes it was Christ, sometimes the prophets or Apostles, who were referred to as the foundation (*fundamentum*). Then, the stones (*lapides*) of the building were sometimes meant to refer to the articles of doctrine, or to the works of believers. Because of this variety of metaphors, Osiander began to ponder in what sense 'You are Peter...' consisted. The interpretation that pleased him most was that when Jesus was asking his disciples 'Who do you say that I am?' he was testing them with a question about the Son of Man, just as earthen vessels were usually tested by a ringing sound. The others, who had not been, as Osiander put it, 'cooked in the fire', said nothing. When Peter answered bravely, 'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God', Christ replied 'and I say to you, that you are Peter...'⁴⁹¹ In this context, Christ's answer meant that Peter was approved and was strong in true faith in Him, and hence was 'well cooked.' For this reason Peter was given to be the first stone (*primus lapis*) in the structure of Christ's church. Even though this structure may appear to be weak, nonetheless the gates of Hell would not be strong enough to undermine it. And to Peter, just as to a successor, Christ gave the keys of the kingdom of heavens after his departure. Thus what Christ said about Peter was not to be understood to be about his faith, or his confession, or his ministry, but the person of Peter (*Petri persona*)

⁴⁸⁸ Neuser 1974: 161.

⁴⁸⁹ Neuser 1974: 161.

⁴⁹⁰ Neuser 1974: 161.

⁴⁹¹ Neuser 1974: 163.

himself. This did not mean, however, that the Roman Pontiff was given a primacy.⁴⁹² Creatively Osiander said,

For just as in a building the first stone was not better than the one above it, nor was a lower one weaker than the one above it, in the same way, Peter, though being the stone which was first in order, had absolutely no prerogative or authority over the rest of the apostles.⁴⁹³

Speculative as this interpretation was, however, Osiander admitted that this was just his own opinion and he would not venture to force it on anybody.⁴⁹⁴

Calvin, in turn, produced his argument.⁴⁹⁵ First, he began with a simple denial that primacy was instituted by Christ for the church. Christ not only forbade ambition (*ambitio*) in his church but also that presidency (*praefectura*) for which the Apostles were contending.⁴⁹⁶ Christ's will for the church was that she might grow in him.⁴⁹⁷ The person of Christ as the central subject in the church must be underlined here. To this end (alluding to Ephesians 4, which Calvin would use again later in the 1543 *Institutio*) Christ instituted the Apostles, the prophets and doctors in the church. But Calvin took great care to point out that in what Christ had instituted for the church there was no mention of a 'primacy' (*primatus*). Therefore it is certain that Christ did not wish primacy to exist.⁴⁹⁸

Then, Calvin considered those passages which concerned the way the Apostles administered the church according to its institution by Christ. He pointed out that on one occasion Peter was required to answer as to why he entered the houses of the uncircumcised. Also, on another occasion Peter was rebuked by Paul (Gal. 2: 11).⁴⁹⁹ But Peter laid claim to absolutely no authority of primacy for

⁴⁹² Neuser (1974: 163): 'Ut omnia nec de fide nec de confessione nec de ministrio sed de Petri persona intelligantur, neque sic tamen locus detur primatui Romani Pontificis.'

⁴⁹³ Neuser (1974: 163): 'Ut enim in aedificio non est melior primus lapis superiore, nec inferior deterior superiore nec quicquam inferior superiori confert, ita et in eo, quod Petrus ordine primus lapis est, nihil habet praerogative autoritatisve in reliquos apostolos.'

⁴⁹⁴ Neuser (1974: 163): 'Tamen hanc meam sententiam nemini praescribere ausim.'

⁴⁹⁵ Apart from that collected in Neuser (1974: 163, 165), Calvin's text can also be found in *CO* 21: 271.

⁴⁹⁶ Neuser (1974: 163): 'Maxime probo, quod Christus noluerit ambitionem tantum, sed et praefecturam, de qua contendebant apostoli, vetare in ecclesia.'

⁴⁹⁷ Neuser (1974: 163): 'Christus ecclesiam suam ita ordinavit, ut crescat in se.'

⁴⁹⁸ Neuser (1974: 163, 165): 'Ad hoc instituit apostolos, prophetas, doctores etc., ubi nulla fit primatus mentio. Certum est igitur, quod Christus noluerit illum esse.' Fraenkel (1965: 620) also notes that this use of the Ephesian text is original to Calvin.

⁴⁹⁹ Jean Gerson has already used this text to justify the claim that the theologian has the right and duty to correct the pope on doctrinal matters and on any occasion when such correction benefits the church. See Pascoe 1973: 90-1.

himself.⁵⁰⁰ In fact, in his letter (I Peter 5: 1) he called himself a 'fellow elder,' identifying himself with the other elders.⁵⁰¹ Ironically, a closer observation would show that Paul seemed to exercise more authority in the church of Christ than Peter did.⁵⁰² Thus it was groundless to pattern the primacy of the pope after Peter.

Lastly, Calvin pointed out that in the post-Apostolic time there was no trace of an existence of a primacy of the Roman Pontiff. This could be demonstrated in the earliest councils.⁵⁰³ Moreover, even Cyprian inveighed strongly against Stephen, the bishop of the Roman church. Finally, regarding the passage in Matthew 16: 18, 'Upon this rock...', Calvin maintained that he was contented with the exposition of Augustine, who in his *Retractationes* corrected himself as to the meaning of the 'rock' in that passage, to the effect that although Christ gave testimony to the person of Peter, he gave it to him on account of his confession of Christ.⁵⁰⁴

The last spokesman in our record was Schnepf. Schnepf was of the opinion that it was incumbent upon the pope to prove (1) that this primacy in the church was by divine right (*iure divino*); (2) that there was a succession; and (3) that the succession of primacy extended to the Roman Pontiff. Schnepf believed that the pope would have difficulty doing that. In fact, the church bore witness to the effect that primacy for the see of Rome was not by divine but by human right, when she sang

Antiochus and Remus concede to you, O Peter, the throne of the kingdom!⁵⁰⁵

Moreover, Jerome, even though he was not consistent, nonetheless in his exposition on Matthew 17 [: 24ff] regarding the temple tax strongly opposed this primacy. The passage of the letter to the Galatians (2: 11f) was not weak in opposing the primacy of Peter either. If Paul had recognised the primacy of Peter, he should, before he

⁵⁰⁰ Neuser (1974: 165): 'Postea vellem venire ad eos locos, in quibus ostenditur, qualiter apostoli ecclesiam secundum Christi institutionem administraverint. A Petro exigitur ratio, quare ad viros praepotum habentes ingressus sit, reprehenditur a Paulo. Nihil huius autoritatis sibi ipsi vindicat.'

⁵⁰¹ Neuser (1974: 165): 'Si intueamur epistolas ipsius, vocat se *sympresbyterum* cum aliis.'

⁵⁰² Neuser (1974: 165): 'Paulus videtur sibi multo plus auctoritatis in ecclesia Christi usurpasse quam Petrus.'

⁵⁰³ Neuser (1974: 165): 'Deinde etiam in ea ecclesia, quae post apostolorum tempora fuit, possumus ostendere non fuisse hunc primatum Romani Pontificis. Id quod videre est in primariis illis conciliis.'

⁵⁰⁴ Neuser (1974: 165). Cf. Eno 1981: 166. Interestingly, Küng (1995: 314) at one point summarized and quoted Joseph Ratzinger's dissertation on Augustine's ecclesiology in these words: 'Indeed, for Augustine, Christ and belief in him, not Peter as a person (far less his 'successors'), is the foundation of the church.' Cf. Ratzinger 1954: 180. Note that during the Leipzig disputation, Luther and Eck had discussed the *Retractationes* of Augustine on this point. But Calvin clearly advanced a better explanation. See Ziegler 1969: 17.

⁵⁰⁵ Neuser (1974: 167): 'Antiochus et Remus concedunt tibi, Petre, regni solium.' Remus was the twin brother of Romulus, first king of Rome, killed by him in a quarrel at the foundation of the city. It seems that in Schnepf's usage, Remus personified Rome. His meaning seems to be that if Rome concedes to Peter the throne of the Kingdom, then Rome could not have possessed Peter's throne, for the throne belongs to Peter alone.

entered upon his ministry of preaching the gospel, have come to Peter—but he did not. If there were such a primacy in the church, then according to the passage in Galatians, there should be two primacies, one of which belonged to Peter, the other to Paul. Schnepf also noted that there existed a letter of Jerome,⁵⁰⁶ which equated the Roman Pontiff to other bishops, thus showing that the pope was not superior to others.

In summing up the whole discussion (or the record of Musculus?), Melancthon added,

Even if the passage in Matt. 16 [18] were to be understood as being about the authority of the apostleship of Peter, nevertheless it would not act as confirmation of the primacy of the bishop of Rome, who is not an Apostle but a bishop, if indeed he is a bishop. Let Peter be given to us as an Apostle, and let us obey him.⁵⁰⁷

One can see that the theologians were determined to oppose the primacy of the Roman bishop. Significantly, they established their opposition not by building on the moral failures of the pope but by producing theological arguments. For them, primacy was not a moral or personal issue. It was an objective problem. It was a problem that would affect the whole proceedings of the colloquy and even the church at large. Understood in this light, one can see the contribution of Calvin in this theological discussion.⁵⁰⁸ The record of Calvin's argument was not lengthy, but it brought out the gist and the method of his thinking about the primacy of the pope. He paid close attention to the context of Scriptures and appealed, in addition, to the support of church history and the fathers. Note that this was also Calvin's first organised argument against papal primacy ever since his rejection of it in his reply to Sadoletto's letter. Calvin was convinced that primacy was not supported by the Scripture, the ancient church, or the fathers. The use of these sources was not accidental. It reflects that behind their adoption the mind of Calvin had been searching for arguments to refute the pope's primacy. The arguments presented here soon became Calvin's standard weapons in his combat against the papacy. It is particularly significant that these arguments advanced during this private meeting

⁵⁰⁶ This letter had been published by Luther in 1538 in his pamphlet war against the papacy. See Brecht 1993b: 191.

⁵⁰⁷ Neuser 1974: 167.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. Neuser (1969: 234): 'Erst aus Frechts und Musculus' Aufzeichnungen der Gespräche wird verständlich, warum Melancthon den erst 31 jährigen Franzosen in Worms mit dem Ehrentitel "der Theologe" ausgezeichnet hat. Die Überlegenheit, mit der Calvin im Einzelnen wie im Ganzen den theologischen Stoff beherrschte, wird Melancthon beeindruckt haben. Der Wittenberger bestand darauf, daß Calvin mit nach Regensburg reiste; er sei für das weitere Gespräch mit den Katholiken nicht entbehrlich.'

toward the end of 1540 were developed more fully in Calvin's 1543 *Institutio*, to which we will turn later.⁵⁰⁹

When Granvelle finally opened the colloquy in Worms on 25 November 1540, the two parties did not meet formally together. It was not until 14 January 1541 that the actual discussion took place, with the altered Augusburg Confession (the *Variata*) drawn up by Melanchthon⁵¹⁰ forming the point of departure for discussion between the two parties.⁵¹¹ Despite the agreement reached on the doctrine of original sin,⁵¹² the issues concerning ecclesiology and sacramental doctrine emerged as the greatest stumbling block.⁵¹³ On 18 January 1541, the emperor had suspended the whole proceeding and ordered the discussions to transfer to the Diet of Regensburg.

In December 1540 Calvin wrote Farel a long letter reporting the way things were going in Worms. This letter helped to shed light on the relationship between the papacy and the settlement of religious controversies in the Reformation. It also reflected the reformers', and in particular Calvin's attitude to papal primacy. To put it in a nutshell, the reformers did not see the pope as the one who could contribute to the settlement of religious controversies. On the contrary, the pope was seen as the greatest stumbling block to any religious discussion and pacification. The reformers, and Calvin in particular, saw that papal primacy was something they had to reject resolutely. It is this primacy *per se* that constituted the main reason for their rejection of the papacy. Thus Calvin wrote to Farel that the Protestant representatives could not tolerate that the pope seized a part of honour for himself in their meeting. Indeed they had to protest against it so that it might not appear that the representatives would concede anything to him. Certainly, the talks of the two parties could in no way come to any agreement. The Catholics would give the pope the title 'Most Holy Father', while the Protestants would name him 'God's enemy' and 'tyrant of the church.' The

⁵⁰⁹ This also partially demonstrates the close connection between Calvin's participation of the 1540-41 colloquies and his production of the 1543 *Institutio*. Thus Neuser (1969: 235) also writes, 'Calvin hat die Vorbereitungsgespräche in Worms benutzt, um seine *Institutio* auszuarbeiten.'

⁵¹⁰ W. Maurer 1962: 97-151; Reu 1930: 398-411. Commenting on the change, Kretschmar (1984: 102) writes, 'The new *Variata* is no longer to be understood as an offer of negotiation; rather it formulates the doctrinal basis on which the catholic church, renewed according to the gospel, can live without recognition by the other side and can do without the features of the medieval episcopacy. It did not foresee the new possibilities of the coming years. On the other hand, it fit into the situation after the Interim.'

⁵¹¹ Nijenhuis 1972b: 106-7.

⁵¹² Kretschmar (1984: 94) describes this achievement as 'not quite consensus but at least a common understanding in the views of the 1530 participants.' See also Mackensen 1959: 42-56.

⁵¹³ Cf. Nijenhuis 1972b: 107, n. 2. See also Doumergue (2: 616-620), for a brief evaluation of the difficulties arised in the colloquy and the reason for its failure.

Catholics 'would promise obedience to him in everything', the Protestants 'would want to fight against his dominion'.⁵¹⁴

4.2.3 Two Anti-papal Works

It is important to note that during this period Calvin wrote two anti-papal works. These clearly reflected his growing anti-papal attitude towards the pope as he witnessed the course of the first two colloquies.

4.2.3.1 *Epinicion Christo cantatum* (1541)

Before the Colloquy of Worms was interrupted, Calvin wrote a poem on 1 January 1541.⁵¹⁵ This poem was given the title *Epinicion Christo cantatum*.⁵¹⁶ As the title suggests, its purpose was to celebrate the victory of Christ. But victory against whom? The poem describes in vivid terms that it was written against the pope. It is significant that it was written in the context of the events in Worms. The poem shows that the pope was perceived by Calvin as the chief enemy in the colloquy. At first, Calvin did not intend this poem to be published. It was only circulated in manuscript among a few of his friends.⁵¹⁷ But when the Dominican inquisitor Vidal de Bécenis condemned the poem and put it on the Index in 1544, Calvin decided to publish it.⁵¹⁸ How this poem was circulated outside the circle of his close friends does not concern us here. But the fact that Calvin decided to publish it after its being condemned by Dominican inquisitor showed his determination to defy Rome. Certainly, this poem discloses some of Calvin's deepest thought about the papacy.⁵¹⁹

The beginning of a New Year set the occasion for the writing of this poem. Just as the Romans received the New Year with happy omens, the faithful people of God also celebrate this day with solemn acclamation.⁵²⁰ They greet Christ as king

⁵¹⁴ CO 11: 137.

⁵¹⁵ CO 21: 63.

⁵¹⁶ CO 5: 417-28; OS 1: 495-98.

⁵¹⁷ CO 5: 421-2.

⁵¹⁸ See the Calvin's Foreword to the Readers in CO 5: 417-8.

⁵¹⁹ Although no analysis of Calvin's poem was given, Backus (2000: 73)'s passing comment tells us that this poem was written 'on the metrical model of Ovid's *Fasti*.'

⁵²⁰ CO 5: 423-4:

Ecce novum exoriens Ianus pater inchoat annum:

Quem mos est faustis excipere ominibus.

Haec est illa dies, veteri de more, priorem

Romani faciem quae novat imperii.

Quaque novi emergunt fascēs, sellaeque curules

Conspicuum et gemino consule fulget ebur.

Surgat et auspiciis nobis felicibus annus,

Solenni ornanda est ista favore dies.

and praised Him with worthy praises. They salute their King who reigns and rules as Lord. Christ's glory is eternal, and the power of his Kingdom is eternal. He guides the years and months and days, and ordains the ever-changing march of time. That is why He is worthy of the praise of His people. But Christ is praised for another important reason: He returns to his people as a magnanimous victor over his enemies. Wielding the golden sceptre in his victorious right hand, he gives to his enemies signals of dreadful destruction.⁵²¹

But who are these enemies? Toward the end of the poem, Calvin mentioned Eck, Cochlaeus,⁵²² Nausea. This shows that Calvin had clearly the colloquies of Hagenau and Worms in mind when he wrote this poem. Calvin mentioned these people not because, as he said, they were special people, but because they were connected to the pope. They were a band of disgraceful warriors who waged war under the pope's Triple Crown (*tiara*)⁵²³ against Christ and his people. They were

⁵²¹ CO 5: 423-4:

Christum ergo Regem plebs religiosa salutet:
Atque illum dignis praedicet elogiis.
Ille quidem sine fine regit, regnatque, nec annis
Finitum tenet, aut mensibus imperium.
Aeternum huic decus est, aeterna potentia regni:
Quam nullus variat, diminuitve dies.
Quum tamen hic annos mensesque diesque gubernet:
Temporis et varitas ordinet usque vices:
Fas est illius nascentem a laudibus annum
Incipere, ut cursu perpetuo prosper eat.
Quid? Quod mirifica sic nunc virtute refulget,
Ut qui clara recens munia consul obit.
Insignem et solito sese magis exserit, ut qui
Magnanimus domito victor ab hoste redit.
Sic est: victricis quatiens seceptra aurea dextra,
Hostibus horrendi signa dat exitii.

⁵²² The footnote on CO 5: 428 remarked that it is likely that Cochlaeus first met Calvin at Hagenau in 1540. 'Cum Calvino primum Hagenoae a. 1540 congressum esse vero simile est ...'

⁵²³ By the fifteenth century, the Triple Crown had been definitely adopted as the pope's official headress for all ceremonial occasions. The three circlets were described as the emblems of the Roman Pontiff's spiritual supremacy, of his temporal dominion and of his suzerainty over all other monarchs. As the pope's power and riches increased, so did the Triple Crown gain in splendour and costliness. See Pirie 1935: vii. By the sixteenth century, the pope's Triple Crown had become an object of the humanists' ridicule of the papacy. Cf. the anonymous *Antithesis of Christ and the Pope*, quoted in Matheson 1998: 158:

Christ avoided kings, but the Pope subdues cities.

Christ wore a crown of thorns, the Pope a triple crown.

Christ washed feet, kings offer kisses to the Pope's.

Christ paid taxes, the Popes exempt all the clergy.

See also Erasmus' *Dialogus Julius exclusus e coelis*, in which Peter, standing behind the door of Heaven, responds to Julius' proud claim of having worn the Triple Crown by saying, 'As for that sumptuous crown of yours, why on earth should I recognize it? No barbarian tyrant ever dared wear a thing like that, let alone anyone trying to get in here.' *CWE* 27: 168.

cunning foxes, lions stained with gore, and a violent mob of barking dogs. They had to learn to subjugate their necks to the unaccustomed yoke of Christ.⁵²⁴

Clearly, the archenemy of Christ in this poem was not these aforementioned people. It was their leader, the pope, whose defeat by Christ was the theme of this victory song. Note how Calvin's description betrays his deep enmity against the pope. Here the pope was a generic figure, whose vice was just as bad in Calvin's time as in the past.

He who granted to himself the rights of the Supreme Pontiff

remains in one piece, puffed up with false honour.

Indeed he rules and influences great monarchs with his nod;

he raises them up and casts them down, frightens them and gladdens them.

And with a sign from his finger he shakes the great globe:

nor is he any less fierce today than he was in the past.

In just the same way as before he either scatters the wretched flock of Christ, or pukes up foul slime from his lying mouth.

In just the same way he rages against the saints, and now soaks his bloodstained hands with innocent blood everywhere, as he did in the past.⁵²⁵

As one can see, Calvin especially condemned the temporal ambitions of the papacy who even subdued earthly monarchs. One can read with keen sensitivity that this is the kind of papacy that Calvin was opposing in this poem. However, although this worldly pride was immovably raised up, soon it would fall headlong down. Although the believers were a small, peaceful, naked and disarmed people in front of horrible wolves, they did not use ordinary weapons. Their final triumph was guaranteed because they had a victorious Christ.

Christ's voice is his sword, and the breath of his mouth is his spear; therefore he can scatter the enemy with a sudden shout.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ CO 5: 427:

Non quia praecipui: sed quod certamine in isto

Signiferos statuit flatigiosa cohors.

Ergo sub triplici bellant quicunque tiara,

Totaque se huc sistant cum duce castra suo.

Astutae vulpes, tinctique cruore leones,

Et latratorum turba proterva canum.

Ordine quisque suo, magni atque ignobile vulgus,

Insolito discant subdere colla iugo.

⁵²⁵ CO 5: 425-6.

⁵²⁶ 'Vox gladius Christo est, et lancea spiritus oris: Hostem igitur subita sternere voce potest.' CO 5: 425-6.

It was because of this mighty Christ that the confounded and astonished 'followers of the pope' suffered punishment, and the terrified profane mob quaked with fear.⁵²⁷ Thus, the treacherous 'camp of the abominable leader' was filled with a din and a diverse noise, and trembled in a state of confusion.⁵²⁸

Unmistakably, this poem discloses in Calvin's perception a deep-seated opposition between the pope and Christ, between the camp following the pope and the people belonging to Christ. Between them there could be no reconciliation or compromise but only warfare.⁵²⁹ No wonder this poem was placed among the list of forbidden works drawn up in Toulouse. With the publication of this poem in 1544 Calvin was defiant. This is clear indication that he had asserted and intensified his uncompromising attitude to the papacy.⁵³⁰

4.2.3.2 *Consilium Pauli III et Eusebii Pamphili explicatio* (1541)

Two months after he had written the *Epinicion Christo cantatum* Calvin published under the pseudonym Eusebius Pamphilius a critical commentary on the 'Fatherly advice' of Pope Paul III to Emperor Charles V, the *Consilium admodum paternum Pauli III, pontificis Romani, datum imperatori in Belgis per cardinalem Farnesium pontificis nepotem pro Lutheranis. Anno 1540. Et Eusebii Pamphili eiusdem consilii pia et salutaris explicatio*.⁵³¹ As mentioned above, the pope's

⁵²⁷ 'Hinc est, quod stupidusque Papae attonitusque satelles pendet, et exanimis turba profana pavet.' CO 5: 425-6.

⁵²⁸ 'Hinc est, quod strepitu implentur varioque tumultu, infandi et trepidant perfida castra ducis.' CO 5: 425-6.

⁵²⁹ When one reads polemic like this, one is reminded of Matheson (1998: 184)'s comment on the downside of Reformation polemics: 'Much that is offensive to us today did not offend against the conventions of sixteenth-century discourse. Popular and "genteel" culture had not yet separated out. Scatology and bestial language provide the relish in the satirical literature throughout Europe at this time. The ferocity of the personal attacks of humanists, reformers and apologists for the Old Church takes our breath away.'

⁵³⁰ Calvin's poem had its influence on Colladon's commentary on the Apocalypse as well. Although the poem itself contains no reference to the Apocalypse, Colladon cited Calvin's poem extensively to support his own exegesis of Apc17. 13-14. According to Backus (2000: 74), in Colladon's commentary 'the visions of the Apocalypse concerned solely the excesses and ultimate downfall of the papacy.' Backus (2000: 73) also comments, 'Colladon obviously wanted to show this readers that although Calvin did not write a commentary on the Apocalypse, he did leave some writings that could perform the function of a commentary, and that he, Colladon, was simply drawing upon what was available without departing in any way from Calvin's original intention.'

⁵³¹ CO 5: 461-508; French: *Recueil des opuscules*, 438-71. This work should not be confused with Calvin's other work, the *Admonitio paterna Pauli III. Cum scholiis* (1545). The present work has no English translation. For a discussion of authorship, see *Bibli. Calviniana* 2: 1109. In a letter to Veit Dietrich dated 6 septembre 1541 Bucer wrote a brief postscript: 'Glossae Concilij paterni oratione Calvini est, nihil in eo Sturmij.' See Nemilov 1993: 575. Despite his earlier discussion (Augustijn 1991: 255-69), Augustijn (1994b: 171) still affirms Calvin's authorship: 'Another interesting essay is his *Explicatio consilii Pauli III*, in which he (Calvin) deals in depth with German history of the 1530s—a founding among Calvin's work.'

fatherly advice was a response to the Emperor's decision on 18 April 1540 to summon the Colloquy of Speyer. It was drafted by the two papal legates sent to the Emperor, the young Alessandro Farnese, grandson of the Pope Paul III, and Marcello Cervini, the future Pope Marcellus II. It was approved by the pope on 20 April and immediately sent to the Emperor on 21 April.⁵³² In fact it was sent to the Emperor before the colloquies took place. Calvin's commentary was published in March 1541, a time when the colloquies of Hagenau and Worms both came to nothing, just as the pope had desired.⁵³³ It was such a sharp commentary that it deserves a closer examination here.

The *Consilium* reflected the pope's attitude to religious colloquies with the Protestants. It also disclosed his anxiety at the prospect of a religious conference held by the Emperor with the Protestants. From the beginning, the pope pointed out that a national German colloquy held between the Catholics and the Protestants was useless and even dangerous. He reminded the Emperor that the discussion held at Augsburg was fruitless. The Confession of Augsburg was blameworthy at many points. It contained many articles dissenting from the Catholic faith.⁵³⁴ At present, as in the past, the purpose of the Protestants was far from establishing peace. The pope's real anxiety was that

when they had once shaken off the yoke of obedience, they wanted not a reformation of supreme pope, but no pope at all. ... And they wanted not the removal of certain abuses from the apostolic seat, but the destruction of the apostolic seat itself.⁵³⁵

Even if eventually the Protestants would achieve peace and be brought to obedience to the apostolic seat, many concessions would have to be made to them.⁵³⁶ Moreover, there was the danger that other countries like France, Spain, and Italy would not accept such religious settlement. The result would again be the division of the body and the unity of the church.⁵³⁷ When Germany remained in isolation, the further danger would be that, and this again was the anxiety of the pope, the Catholics in Germany would 'all together break free from the apostolic seat.'⁵³⁸

As a counter-measure, the pope proposed a method to deal with the Turks and to restore religious peace. Instead of a national German colloquy held between the Catholics and the Protestants, the pope 're-proposed' an ecumenical council to be

⁵³² *Bibl. Calviniana* 2: 1109.

⁵³³ Doumergue 2: 590.

⁵³⁴ *CO* 5: 470.

⁵³⁵ *CO* 5: 471.

⁵³⁶ *CO* 5: 475.

⁵³⁷ *CO* 5: 476.

⁵³⁸ *CO* 5: 478.

immediately arranged.⁵³⁹ Its benefits were twofold. First, when all Catholics came together, they could strengthen the Catholic League and settle the religious question.⁵⁴⁰ Moreover, while an ecumenical council could strengthen the Catholic League, it could also instill fear in the Protestants so that perhaps they would come to the council and subject themselves to its decision.⁵⁴¹ Secondly, when religious discussions were settled, the Catholic princes could deal with the subject of the Turks. To achieve the latter objective, it was advised that the Emperor should secure peace with France. Together they could face the common front of defeating the Turks.⁵⁴² In the end, the pope warned the Emperor that the Protestants were as dangerous as the Turks:

For it cannot easily be decided (to speak in a Christian manner) which are more hostile to Christ, the Protestants or the Turks, because this one capture and kill the body, that one leads souls away captive and drags them to perdition; this one does not compel religion to change, while that one under the appearance of peace corrupt and destroy religion.⁵⁴³

A very persuasive message indeed. But it soon met the vehement response of Calvin. Calvin saw that the pope's purpose in his advice was 'to defend his own tyranny.'⁵⁴⁴ Inevitably the pope had to stop any discussion with the Protestants because

the pope sees that his royal authority is done for once any conference about religion is attempted. ... He thinks such a conference must be opposed, but he cannot do so without an excuse.⁵⁴⁵

In reply to the pope's accusation that the Protestants wanted not a different kind of supreme pope but no pope at all, Calvin gave an eloquent and finely constructed argument. Interestingly, this gives us a clue as to the kind of papal primacy he rejected and the kind of bishop of Rome he would accept, if not just tolerate at the very least. Calvin first appealed to the ancient canons to determine the exact status given to the bishop of Rome, an action that showed that he respected the decision of ancient councils on this issue.⁵⁴⁶

⁵³⁹ CO 5: 486.

⁵⁴⁰ CO 5: 501.

⁵⁴¹ CO 5: 498.

⁵⁴² CO 5: 500.

⁵⁴³ CO 5: 503.

⁵⁴⁴ CO 5: 469.

⁵⁴⁵ CO 5: 471.

⁵⁴⁶ The 1543 *Institutio* shows that Calvin was referring to the Council of Nicea and the Council of Chalcedon.

Indeed the sacred Canons forbid the bishop of Rome to be called the supreme pope or 'prince of priests' (*princeps sacerdotum*), nor do they concede anything else to him other than that he be called bishop of the first see (*primae sedis episcopus*).⁵⁴⁷

The reason Calvin gave for this delineation of Rome's status was that no bishop was equal to such a task.

Without doubt the holy men who decreed this were thoroughly aware from experience itself that one man cannot be equal to such a great burden as to take upon himself either the guidance or the governing or the inspection of the whole church.⁵⁴⁸

Rhetorically, Calvin added,

But I wish that ... at Rome ... there were the sort of man to undertake and at the same time to put up with the fatherly and pastoral care and responsibility of all the churches. For the sort of man who could in this way prove that he used his power for building, not for destruction, would thus be a help to the other bishops in discharging their duties, not a hindrance.⁵⁴⁹

Note that he spoke only of the pastoral responsibility but not of the supremacy of power. It was also exactly in this context that Calvin stated that the Protestants did not wish a destruction of the pope. Rather they wanted a 'reformed' pope.

In that case certainly and in reality the Protestants would declare that they did not long for no pope at all, but rather a reformed one, and one who is truly supreme (*summum*), as opposed to the present one, who is a complete nobody; and that they did not long for the destruction of the apostolic seat, but the good restoration of the seat which, defiled and profaned by a thousand kinds of filth, has been moved away from the holy apostles and towards Satan.⁵⁵⁰

The present papacy, on the other hand, 'is founded and stands on darkness alone.'⁵⁵¹ The assemblies of the pope's party held over the last twenty years were not for the purpose of the reformation of the church but for the 'suppression of the gospel.'⁵⁵² Then entered Calvin's severe criticism of the papacy. What they had attempted to do for the pope was that

⁵⁴⁷ CO 5: 472.

⁵⁴⁸ CO 5: 472.

⁵⁴⁹ CO 5: 472.

⁵⁵⁰ CO 5: 472. In a later context, Calvin described what a true bishop is like, which certainly deserves our attention as well: 'For the only one who can be considered a bishop to a Christian people is one who sits in the highest position in the church while conducting himself in this way: he should stand out as first in doctrine and purity of life, and should apply himself to that with the greatest effort by teaching, managing the sacred mysteries and applying the discipline of Christ, by which the church entrusted to him should day by day be enlarged firstly by the joining of those who had been taken away from Christ and secondly by the increase and growth of piety in those who have now been converted to Christ; and he should keep on making new advances.' CO 5: 483.

⁵⁵¹ CO 5: 472.

⁵⁵² CO 5: 472.

they are seeking not some sort of highest or lowest bishopric, but that they, with the office of bishop overturned and removed, are establishing, under the name of office of bishop, a tyranny which is utterly of the Antichrist. But whether they may desire to see the apostolic seat saved or not, it is clearly enough proven not only that they themselves are *failing to teach the doctrine* handed down from the holy Apostles, or at any rate to see that it is taught, but also are driving mad the wretched minds of men with wicked and impious lies, and are *sending their consciences to ruin*; not only that they are in no way practising right and beneficial discipline, but that they are corrupting the whole world with innumerable examples of licentiousness. In a word, they have *no other doctrine than one by which they will hurl souls to perdition*, and no other kind of discipline than a tyrannous one, or rather the savagery of villains; nor are they content with these evil deeds, but *devote themselves wholeheartedly* to seeing that whatever people try to maintain *the purer doctrine of Christ and the proper ordering of the church*, or receive it, or defend it, or even dare to ask for it, are harried, banished at last, and removed from society⁵⁵³ (*italics mine*).

One can readily see that this criticism no less reveals Calvin's reason for rejecting the papacy: the concern for the pure teaching of Christ, the freedom of conscience from tyrannical papal laws, and the right order of the church are succinctly summarised and reiterated here.

Ultimately, it was the issue of who should be the head of the church that was of utmost importance:

Whether Christ or the pope of Rome ought to be considered the supreme head of the church, its highest prince, its wisdom, its justice and the only hope of salvation - that is the main point of all the arguments.⁵⁵⁴

When this issue is settled, and when Christ is given back his supremacy in the church, all religious divisions and controversies could be dealt with easily.

For when it has been decided that it is to Christ that what we call honour must be accorded, whatever arguments there are today among the factions will be settled with little difficulty. For because the Protestants seek one thing, namely that all should subject themselves to the Word and Spirit of Christ, they will esteem the laws of the pope and those of all men to be less than the laws of Christ, and they will consider that all confidence in salvation lies in the merit of Christ, and not in any deeds of men or of angels. Truly those who are influenced and prepared in this way, because they have been grafted into Christ, so as to live in Him and He in them, will faithfully engage in good works and will devote themselves to these good works; they will crucify the flesh along with their faults and evil desires; and they will consecrate themselves and all their deeds to to the glory of God and the salvation of their fellow men. In that case, because they will relate everything to Christ, it will also be easily agreed about this matter, that on the one hand doctrine, and on the other all ceremonies, should be administered in churches in such a way that all confidence in works and in anyone's particular rank should be abolished and should perish; all hope should be removed from man-made things; but living

⁵⁵³ CO 5: 472.

⁵⁵⁴ CO 5: 474: 'Christusne an pontifex romanus supremum caput ecclesiae, summus princeps, sapientia, iustitia spesque unica salutis haberi debeat, id caput est omnium controversiarum.'

faith in Christ, on the other hand, should be set up, should begin to grow and should be stabilised.⁵⁵⁵

As to the proposal of a general council to settle the religious issue, Calvin again pointed out its futility, this time again laying the blame on the pope:

What a fantasy about the council, good God, this man makes up for us, in which what was ordained by the mouth of Christ would not only fail to be approved, but would be openly repudiated by laws in opposition. From this please deduce how much good hope we could have from the see of Rome, even if a council were to be assembled. Therefore why do we hold our breath waiting for his decree, when we ought to reject it if it were made?⁵⁵⁶

With regard to the invitation extended to the Protestants to the general council, Calvin replied with full confidence:

Let the pope's party once dare to come out into broad daylight and let them allow the proclamation of a council, of the sort that the Scriptures and the canons prescribe: if in that case the Protestants do not appear, the whole world may certainly say that they have no confidence in their cause and are fleeing the daylight of the council for the reason that they know they are doing wrong, and in that case they will condemn themselves with their own judgment of themselves.⁵⁵⁷

He was not unaware of the purpose of the Catholic League either:

All the advice of the most holy father turns on this pivot, namely that this league against the Protestants, which was arranged in the first place by the wonderful wiles of Heldius, should be increased.⁵⁵⁸

But in face of this mighty force Calvin was confident and defiant:

But the Protestants should stand firm in the belief that they have a leader stronger than the strength of the whole world.⁵⁵⁹

Finally, with regard to the threat the pope posed to the Emperor that the Protestants were as dangerous as the Turks, Calvin sent out an outburst full of sarcasm and utter rejection:

And lest he should miss out any bit of shamelessness, his impure mouth dares first to call into doubt which group is more hostile to Christ, the Protestants or the Turks, and then to say that the Protestants are both bigger and more harmful enemies to the Christian name. What would you do with this monster? Would you strive with arguments to throw him down in such a way that he is overcome with

⁵⁵⁵ CO 5: 474

⁵⁵⁶ CO 5: 478.

⁵⁵⁷ CO 5: 487.

⁵⁵⁸ CO 5: 497. The editors of CO have this note: 'For Matthias Heldius see Sleidan.II.57.133.ss.161.Seml. He was at first assistant judge of the imperial court, later prochancellor; a man most hostile to the Protestants and faithful ally of Farnes when he was pursuing his endeavours in Belgium, and very diligent promoter of the league of Catholic princes. Later discord arose between him and Granvella and he fell out of favour with the Emperor.'

⁵⁵⁹ CO 5: 499. This is reminiscent of the confidence shown in the *Epinicion Christo cantatum*.

shame and is completely struck dumb? But what good will you do in the case of a beast of such desperate shamelessness? Or would you rather choose to see to it that, with his baseness clearly visible, he is, as he deserves, an object of hatred and detestation to all? How easily that would happen, if the ears of all were pricked up to listen.⁵⁶⁰

All in all, if the pope's advice were to be followed, Calvin drew out the conclusion:

The church will be exposed to the whim of the Antichrist; our country will be handed over to the Turks; and the princes themselves, with hearts and bodies intent on their own private business, will rave furiously. Soon this result will follow. Because that most fierce tyrant ... will reign much more licentiously, he will indulge himself without law and without limit, as if the bars on a door have been broken, in that insatiable greed and rapaciousness, that intemperateness of lusts, and that madness towards all pious and upright people and many innocent peoples ... That execrable seat, shored up by new props, will grow more cruelly insolent by trampling upon Christ and His sacred Gospel, by blinding the world with impious and ruinous doctrines and by hurling wretched souls to perdition.⁵⁶¹

One can see that Calvin's reply certainly laid bare his opposition to the papacy and his reason for doing so during the period of 1540-41.

4.2.4 The Colloquy of Regensburg

The suspended colloquy in Worms was finally re-opened in Regensburg. In fact this was a new colloquy⁵⁶² by which the Emperor's aim was to achieve a 'final Christian agreement on the disputes in religion.'⁵⁶³ When Calvin left Strasbourg on 22 February 1541 for the Diet of Regensburg,⁵⁶⁴ he knew that it would unquestionably be dominated by the Emperor and the papists.⁵⁶⁵ Calvin was indeed unwilling to go to Regensburg. For one thing, as expressed in his own words, 'they are frequently accustomed to lengthen out the Diets even for ten months.' The other reason was that he saw himself 'to be in no way adapted for that kind of business, whatever others may think.' But he went because 'I shall follow wherever God leads, who knows best why he has laid this necessity upon me.'⁵⁶⁶ As it turned out, this trip proved to be important for Calvin's later critique of the papacy. The Calvin who

⁵⁶⁰ CO 5: 505.

⁵⁶¹ CO 5: 507.

⁵⁶² Lau-Bizer 1969: 167.

⁵⁶³ Spalding 1984: 126.

⁵⁶⁴ To avoid confusion, one should bear in mind that 'Ratisbon' is the Latin name for Regensburg. Some scholars, like Eells (1951: 170, n. 28), use the 'Colloquy of Regensburg' for the colloquy held in 1541 to distinguish it from the Colloquy of Ratisbon held in 1546. For Eells, since the colloquy in 1541 was attended by laymen, it is appropriate to use the vernacular name of Regensburg to designate it.

⁵⁶⁵ Eells 1971: 287.

⁵⁶⁶ Calvin's letter to Farel on 19 February 1541. CO 11: 156.

came to Regensburg soon showed himself to be, as Jedin described him in this context, 'the future arch-enemy of Rome.'⁵⁶⁷

One should note how Calvin saw the Roman Catholic party who went to the colloquy. In a letter to Farel on 28 March 1541, he classified the opposite party into three classes: those, though few in numbers, who could not wait to wage war against the Protestants;⁵⁶⁸ those, who, in order to avoid war, would seek to establish a peace of any kind that might be agreed upon;⁵⁶⁹ those who would willingly admit some considerable correction of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline.⁵⁷⁰ The most important observation concerns how Calvin saw the papal legates and the pope. Calvin remarked,

The papal legates, according to their usual method, are strongly opposed to our proceeding to take any practical measures; for they consider that it is all over with their kingdom, if any discussion in matter of religion, if any consultation about the Reformation of the Church, should be entertained or set on foot without the authority of their idol (the pope).⁵⁷¹ Openly, they pretend that they promote the conference which we desire; but underhand, they oppose us not only by great promises, but also by threat. They are ready to assist the Emperor with a large sum of money, if he wishes at once to have recourse to arms (against the Protestants);⁵⁷² or what Contarini (the papal legate at Regensburg) rather wishes, if he can put us down without bloodshed. Should the Emperor make any concession distasteful to the tyranny of the See of Rome, they threaten to fulminate those excommunications with which they are used to set the whole world a trembling with terror.⁵⁷³

Thus, in Calvin's view, papal power and intervention remained the main obstacle in the colloquy.

On 5 April 1541 Charles V opened the diet in Regensburg with the clear statement that the purpose was to establish religious unity and to render aid against the Turks. The collocutors for the colloquy were to be appointed by the Emperor. This prerogative of the Emperor raised not a little suspicion from the Catholic side. Morone complained to Granvelle that the purpose behind the whole design was to bypass the Holy See. Granvelle's reply was that the Emperor would never have called a colloquy which would lead to a break with the old faith. He assured Morone

⁵⁶⁷ Jedin 1957: 379.

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. Pastor 11: 434.

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. Pastor 11: 435.

⁵⁷⁰ CO 11: 178. Cf. Pastor 11: 435.

⁵⁷¹ Douglas (1959: 156) points out that from the beginning of his appointment as a papal legate Contarini 'was required first to determine whether the Protestant delegation was willing to accept the principle of papal supremacy as divinely instituted.' See also Pastor 11: 428-9. At any rate, Contarini 'by his firmness had succeeded at the eleventh hour in having adequate recognition of the authority of the Holy See' introduced into the Imperial proposition read by the Count Palatine Frederick at the opening of the Diet on 5 April 1541. See Pastor 11: 436.

⁵⁷² Cf. Pastor 11: 431.

⁵⁷³ CO 11: 179; LJC 1: 244

that nothing would be done without the knowledge of the papal legate and the consent of the pope.⁵⁷⁴ Once again, the issue of the power of the pope lay lurking in the background—the papal legates would never allow this to be compromised. After some negotiations, the Emperor announced the collocutors on 21 April. On the Catholic side were Eck, Gropper, and the bishop elect of Laumburg Julius Pflug. Melanchthon, Bucer, and the Hessian preacher Pistorius were appointed to represent the Protestants.⁵⁷⁵ It is important to note that these collocutors had no power to make any decisions. Their role was simply to confer together. Contarini was granted the request that he would be informed daily of the negotiations.⁵⁷⁶ This, to be sure, was to be kept secret. From then on the tangible influence of the papacy had never left the colloquy.

The document on which the discussion was based was the *Regensburg Book*. It was in reality the Worms Articles drawn up by Gropper at the secret Colloquy of Worms in which Bucer had taken part (December 1540).⁵⁷⁷ Discussions of the six collocutors began on 27 April and last until 22 May.⁵⁷⁸ Surprisingly, many of the articles were agreed.⁵⁷⁹ The first few articles, being all briefly and unpolemically formulated, were all accepted. These were doctrines on the state of man before the Fall, the freedom of the will, the cause of sin, and on original sin. The collocutors even worked out an article on the doctrine of justification (Article V) acceptable to

⁵⁷⁴ Matheson 1972: 86.

⁵⁷⁵ Ganzer-zur Mühlen 2000a: XVIII. Calvin also named these six names in his letter to Farel on April 24, 1541. He also described the characters of opposite party. See CO 11: 204. De Greef (1993: 155) is misleading to give the impression that Calvin was one of the three Protestants collocutors: 'On April 5 Charles V opened the diet, which met in Regensburg from April 27 to May 31. There the colloquy that had broken off in Worms was to continue. The Roman Catholics were represented by, among others, Gasparo Contarini, who was the papal envoy, Albert Pighius, and Eck. On the Protestant side were Melanchthon, Bucer, and Calvin. Melanchthon had strongly insisted on Calvin's presence, "on account of his great name among scholars."'

⁵⁷⁶ Thus Matheson (1972: 97) commented that 'this cautious move by the legate, working here as always in the closest collaboration with Morone, was to prove all-important for the course of the colloquy.'

⁵⁷⁷ Ganzer-zur Mühlen (2000a: XVIII): 'Als Gesprächsgrundlage legte Granvella das zwischen Bucer und Gropper ausgehandelte Wormser Buch vor.' For the origin of the *Regensburg Book*, see Eells 1928: 355-372; cf. Stupperich 1939: 88-116. For its revision and acceptance by both sides of the collocutors see Pastors 11: 438-9 and Matheson 1972: 101-3.

⁵⁷⁸ For more details, see Matheson 1972: 97-144; Gleason 1993: 201-43; See also Eells 1971: 288-320; van't Spijker 1996: 246-55.

⁵⁷⁹ The whole discussion covered the following articles: Article I—the state of man before the Fall; Article II—the freedom of the will; Article III—the cause of sin; Article IV—original sin; Article V—justification; Article VI-IX: the nature of the church; Article X—the sacraments in general; Article XI—the sacraments of ordination; Article XII—the sacrament of baptism; Article XIII—the sacrament of confirmation; Article XIV—the sacrament of Eucharist; Article XV—penance and absolution; Article XVI—marriage; Article XVII—extreme unction; Article XVIII—charity; Article XIX—the hierarchical order of the church and its authority in determining church polity; Article XX—certain 'dogmata': the adoration of the saints, the mass, celibacy, monasticism; Article XXI—on the use of the sacraments; Article XXII on the question of ecclesiastical discipline.

both sides on 2 May.⁵⁸⁰ Contarini wrote to Rome with excitement on 3 May 1541.⁵⁸¹ Calvin also gave a positive report to Farel on 11 May 1541:

You will be astonished, I am sure, that our opponents have yielded so much, when you read the extracted copy, as it stood when the last correction was made upon it, which you will find enclosed in the letter. Our friends have thus retained also the substance of the true doctrine, so that nothing can be comprehended within it which is not to be found in our writings. You will desire, I know, a more distinct explication and statement of the doctrine, and, in that respect, you shall find me in complete agreement with yourself. However, if you consider with what kind of men we have to agree upon this doctrine, you will acknowledge that much has been accomplished. You will be astonished, I am sure, that our opponents have yielded so much.⁵⁸²

Thus said, one must not suppose that the discussion was all smooth or compromises easily gained. From the beginning Eck opposed fiercely the *Regensburg Book*. He was only restrained by Contarini who had the backing of the Emperor.⁵⁸³

On 3 May the two parties began to discuss Article IX, *De autoritate Ecclesiae in discernenda et interpretanda scriptura*.⁵⁸⁴ The key question involved in this article concerns whether ultimately it was the church, which included councils and traditions, had higher authority.⁵⁸⁵ Melanchthon saw that it was not right to accept that both the church and the Scripture were on the same level of authority. He rejected the position that it was the church or councils that determined doctrine and the interpretation of Scripture. The Catholic side could not compromise on this article either. They saw that a rejection of this article meant a denial of supreme teaching authority of the church.⁵⁸⁶ Already Melanchthon saw that the doctrine of the church would ultimately lead to the collapse of the colloquy. In the end Granvelle reluctantly decided to postpone the settlement of this article to the end of the colloquy.

⁵⁸⁰ CR 4: 198-201. Lane (2002: 233-7) has an English translation of the article. For an analysis, see Rait 1985: 207-9. Cf. also Gleason 1993: 227-235. See Lane (2002: 46-60)'s fine analysis, esp. his critique of Gleason's interpretation on p. 58. Cf. also Brecht (1993a: 224)'s analysis of this provisional agreement. Matheson 1972: 104. Gleason (1993: 235) comments that 'the day of 3 May 1541 was the highpoint of the Regensburg colloquy, a moment in which better relations between Catholics and Protestants seemed for a short while not merely conceivable but genuinely possible.' But the later papal opposition to this agreement showed all the more clearly how far the reformers and the papacy were opposed to each other on this key issue. See Gleason 1993: 241-3.

⁵⁸¹ See Gleason 1993: 229.

⁵⁸² CO 11: 215; LJC 1: 260. For an analysis of Calvin's doctrine of justification, see Lane (2002: 21-43). Lane (2002: 56-8) also discussed Calvin's view of Article V. For a comment on the concession of the Catholics on this article, see also Lane (2002: 226).

⁵⁸³ Pastor 11: 440-1.

⁵⁸⁴ CR 4: 208-212.

⁵⁸⁵ Pastor 11: 441-2.

⁵⁸⁶ Jedin 1957: 384.

Then on 19 May, when the two parties discussed Article XIX, *De Ecclesiae hierarchico ordine, et in constituenda politia autoritate*,⁵⁸⁷ another deathblow was dealt. This article in fact dealt with the primacy of the pope. Because of the importance of this article for Calvin's later critique of the primacy of the pope, a brief description is in order.

This article was in fact carefully framed in a conciliatory manner. It began by stressing the need of care for each and every member of Christ's mystical body so that there would be no dissension in the church of Christ. For this reason Christ gave spiritual gifts to each member (1 Cor. 12). Thus he also gave some to be Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the work of the ministry and for the edifying of the body of Christ (Eph. 4). To effectively safeguard the unity of the church, the office of bishops, the primacy of Peter, the hierarchical structure of the church, and the primacy of the Roman see were introduced into the article.

First, the article made use of the authority of Cyprian to show that the unity of the church was preserved by the office of bishops.

Wherefore as St. Cyprian said the unity of the church is strongly to be preserved and defended, chiefly by the bishops who preside in the church in the place of the Apostles, that we may esteem them as one indivisible *Episcopatus*. [Then begins Cyprian's text '*Episcopatus siquidem unus est ...*']⁵⁸⁸

Then the article introduced the primacy of Peter.

Henceforth, the Scriptures describe Peter to be, as it were, the head, mouth, and chief of the apostles, to whom Christ gave not only authority but also his name, although he gave not unto him only, but to him principally with others (in order that the unity of the church may be insinuated) a special charge, when he committed unto him his sheep to be fed. (Joh xxi).⁵⁸⁹

As one can see, Peter's primacy is introduced to serve the unity of the church. Its second function is to feed and serve the church of Christ. Thus the article continues by describing Peter going into every city to visit the church so that everyone not only was edified by the gospel but also knew that they had the same gospel.

Finally the article introduces the hierarchical structure of the church and the primacy of the Roman see:

⁵⁸⁷ CR 4: 221-4.

⁵⁸⁸ CR 4: 221: 'Quamobrem, ut Divus Cyprianus inquit, Ecclesiae unitas firmiter tenenda et vindicanda est, maxime ab Episcopis, qui in Ecclesia loco Apostolorum praesident, ut Episcopatum quoque ipsum unum atque indivisum probemus. ...'

⁵⁸⁹ CR 4: 222: 'Hinc scripturae Petrum veluti verticem, os et principem Apostolorum describunt, cui Christus nedum potestatem, sed et nomen suum communicavit, Etsi non ipsi soli, sed tamen ipsi principaliter cum aliis, ut unitas Ecclesiae insinuaretur, praecipuam sollicitudinem, dum ei pascendas oves committeret, Ioh, 21.'

And because Christ wants this unity of the church to endure forever in this hierarchical order, therefore by divine dispensation, bishops succeed in the place of the apostles ... to provide cure for schism, lest every one drawing unto himself the church of Christ, unity should be broken. Among the bishops also of every province one was made Archbishop, which was also called Metropolitan, and among the Metropolitans were Patriarchs or Primate ordained, which at the beginning were only three in number: Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria; among which the bishop of Rome, just as it obtains the seat of Peter by vicarious succession, was declared Primate: not that he did excel others in the dignity of priesthood, but only because he might surpass others by the greatness of concern and prerogative of jurisdiction, so that the unity of the church might be preserved.⁵⁹⁰

Formulated in this way, this article skillfully upheld the primacy of the pope as the institution of Christ and made it the centre of unity of the church. The pope maintained his *praerogativa iurisdictionis* while at the same time the article stressed his *amplitudo sollicitudinis* for the church. Viewed from today's standard, this article presented a great opportunity to settle the difficult question of papal primacy. It maintained the delicate balance between the dignity, power and jurisdiction of the pope on the one hand, and the responsibility, burden and care of his see on the other. But could this article be accepted by the reformers or Rome?

On the Catholic side, Eck severely criticised this article for it toned down the absolute power of the pope when it made the function of his office appear to serve the unity of the church.⁵⁹¹ Soon, the Catholics declared that they were determined to maintain unswerving loyalty to the '*alten Religion und wahren Glauben*.'⁵⁹² Rome's response was swift too. In fact, it came as a reply to Contarini's handling of the discussion on Articles IX and XIX. In particular, Contarini's endorsement⁵⁹³ of Article XIX was seen to be too conciliatory. Rome's response, which arrived in Regensburg on 8 June, came from the pen of Marcello Cervini, drafted on behalf of Alessandro Farnese. Contarini's view on councils and papal authority was sharply criticised.⁵⁹⁴ He was told that neither Paul III nor anyone else could agree with him.

⁵⁹⁰ CR 4: 222-3: 'Et quia Christus hanc Ecclesiae unitatem Hierarchico ordine, usque in finem, durare voluit, idcirco in locum Apostolorum, divina nimirum dispensatione, successerunt Episcopi, qui singuli singulis Ecclesiis, ut Hieronymus inquit, in schismatis remedium, propositi sunt, ne unusquisque, ad se trahens Ecclesiam Christi, unitatem rumperet. Inter Episcopos quoque cuiusque provinciae unus Archiepiscopus, qui et Metropolitanus, et inter Metropolitanos Patriarchae seu Primate iudicatus est, non quod dignitate sacerdotii caeteros antecederet, sed magis amplitudine sollicitudinis, et praerogativa Iurisdictionis, ut Ecclesiae unitas conservaretur, anteiret.'

⁵⁹¹ Van 't Spijker 1991: 247.

⁵⁹² CR 4: 528

⁵⁹³ Gleason 1993: 237.

⁵⁹⁴ When Contarini was first appointed papal legate to the imperial court in 1540, Cervini had already reminded him, 'Do not under the desire for concord consent to some determination that is not completely Catholic.' Instead, Contarini was to 'remit all to the Apostolic See.' 'The authority of the

Cervini stated unequivocally that only the pope had the authority to convoke councils. As regards the authority of the pope, Cervini criticised Contarini for postponing the discussion of the papacy. He firmly wrote that

the whole authority was given by God to Saint Peter, first in the words 'I give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven' after the Passion, and then at the time of the Ascension... 'feed my sheep.'⁵⁹⁵

He reminded Contarini to avoid words that suggested that after establishing

the hierarchy of the church and placing in it bishops, archbishops, patriarchs and primates, God then constituted the Roman Pontiff to serve the unity of the whole.⁵⁹⁶

For these words, Cervini warned,

served those who say the pontiff is useful to conserve the church but was not ordained specifically by God, and [those] who wish all bishops considered equal to him.⁵⁹⁷

On the Protestant side, Bucer was more conciliatory.⁵⁹⁸ He thought that accepting this article could be a point of departure for the further extension of the reformation.⁵⁹⁹ Others, however, were not so tolerant. Melancthon called it a 'vicious article.'⁶⁰⁰ The term 'hierarchy' implied more domination than order. However it was stated, he could by no means accept the Roman bishop to be the head of the church.⁶⁰¹ On 31 May 1541, the Protestants drafted a summary of their divergent views regarding the church, Eucharist and Confession in nine articles and submitted it to the Emperor. In the article *De unitate Ecclesiae et ordine ministrorum Evangelii*, they asserted that Christ was the Head of the church. The unity of the church consisted in the union under one head through the gospel and the ministry

Pope,' Cervini asserted, 'has to be upheld by the Protestants too.' Cervini to Contarini, June 14, 1540. The English translation here is from Hudon (1992: 73). See also Pastor 11: 460-1.

⁵⁹⁵ Marcello Cervini (for Farnese) to Gasparo Contarini, May 29, 1541. The English translation is quoted from Hudon (1992: 73).

⁵⁹⁶ Hudon 1992: 73.

⁵⁹⁷ Hudon 1992: 73. Cf. also Matheson 1972: 151-55.

⁵⁹⁸ Augustijn 1994b: 175: 'Bucer is continually attempting to establishing a new realm that might hold the middle ground between Christ and Pope.' The conciliatory character of Bucer's effort during the colloquies, even to the point of accepting the primacy of the Roman see, is attributed to his concern for 'the unity of the church.' See Augustijn 1994a:114. It should be noted that the Bucer before the colloquies of 1540-41 was not always conciliatory. Matheson (1994: 7) points out, 'Bucer is not infrequently seen as the prime example of a sixteenth-century "ecumaniac". Yet the ferocity of Bucer's critique of the Old Church tends to be forgotten. The term 'Antichrist' was never far from his lips. The work of the papists was that of the Devil, their enforced celibacy the doctrine of demons, their ceremonies the impostures of Satan.'

⁵⁹⁹ van't Spijker 1996: 247.

⁶⁰⁰ CR 4: 422.

⁶⁰¹ CR 4: 422-3.

instituted by Christ in Ephesians [chap. 4].⁶⁰² These ideas were very much Calvin's, which he had presented during the discussion of Protestant theologians on 18 November 1540. Eventually, the Protestants, in writing to the Emperor, declined to recognise the authority and primacy of the pope.⁶⁰³ In a letter dated 26 July 1541 the Protestant theologians told Contarini that Christ remained to be the sole Head of the church *forever* and they rejected outright the Roman Pontiff as the head of the church and Councils.⁶⁰⁴

On 22 May 1541, the colloquy came to a halt. In the Roman legate's reply to the imperial majesty on 12 July 1541 concerning the acts of the colloquy, Contarini wrote:

We have been requested to give our considered views of the discussion of religious matters between Catholic and Protestant disputants instituted by Your Majesty, as set forth in a book by Your Majesty and presented to the disputants and also in several addenda by both sides as well as several statements received from the Protestants. We hereby declare that, following full consideration and evaluation of everything, it is our considered opinion that nothing further should be decided or established—this for the reason that in several articles the Protestants have departed from the common understanding of the universal church. It is our hope that with the help of God they will yet reject these and that in time they will come to agree with us. *Everything then should be forwarded and submitted to the Pope and the apostolic see*, who should take up the matter according to universal truth in a general council to be convened in comparatively short time or in any other convenient manner which the situation might require. And respecting day-to-day matters, he should decide and establish whatever seems necessary to the Christian commonwealth and to this noble nation⁶⁰⁵ (*italics mine*).

On 23 July 1541, the whole negotiation was to be referred to a General Council, which the Emperor would request Paul III to summon.⁶⁰⁶

On the whole the colloquy was a failure. One may rightly say that it failed on the controversies on the doctrine of the church and religious ceremonies, especially the Lord's Supper.⁶⁰⁷ But on a deeper level it failed on the issue of papal authority. For it was on the authority of Rome that the agreement on justification was rejected. Moreover, Rome would never compromise on papal primacy. And it was this

⁶⁰² CR 4: 367-368: '... ita una est Ecclesia Dei sanctificata et consociata per filium Dei qui caput est, ... Sicut scriptum est: Ascendit, dedit dona hominibus, alios quidem Apostolos, alios pastores, alios doctores. ... Consistit igitur unitas Ecclesiae in hac consociatione sub uno capite per idem Evangelium et idem ministerium ...'

⁶⁰³ *Protestantes ad Imperatorem* (14.Iul.), in CR 4: 517f.

⁶⁰⁴ *Theologi Protest. ad Contarenum* (26. Iul.) in CR 4: 606: 'Christus unus et solus Ecclesiae caput est et manet *in aeternum*; Paulus autem, Apollo, Cephas ministri Ecclesiae sunt. Et tu tam dissimilem his hominem propter usurpatum titulum et successionem sedis Cephae caput Ecclesiae et Conciliorum facere audes?'

⁶⁰⁵ CR4: 506. The English text is from Ziegler (1969: 168).

⁶⁰⁶ CR4: 586-9.

⁶⁰⁷ Eells 1951: 172; Ganzer-zur Mühlen 2000a: XIX. Lane 2002: 52.

primacy that the Protestants could not but reject.⁶⁰⁸ Just as the Protestants had prepared their rejection during the deliberations of their theologians during the Colloquy of Worms, it was put into action in their rejection of Article XIX of the *Regensburg Book*.

From then on, all hopes of reconciliation between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants evaporated.⁶⁰⁹ More specifically, the Protestants' antagonism towards the pope was hardened. In his *Index abusuum in Ecclesia* (17 or 18 July 1541), Melancthon gave a long list of how the pope abused his power, accusing the pope of transforming the government of the church into a worldly empire and asserting power over earthly kingdoms. In Article X of the same *Index*, *De ecclesiastica gubernatione Papae et Episcoporum*, Melancthon commented further, 'But the Roman Pontiff ... assumes to himself power over all canons, and councils, and does not allow himself to be corrected by others, even when he is destroying innumerable souls.'⁶¹⁰ In the *Praefationes in Acta Ratisbon* edited in October 1541, he concentrated on criticising the pope for quenching the light of the gospel and spreading idolatries in the Church. He appealed to Christian readers that Christ now had called us into warfare. 'He will have us so prepared that every one may stand and fight in his own place. He wills godly doctors and teachers to keep securely and defend the purity of the doctrine. ...'⁶¹¹

As for Bucer, although he had made a great effort to advocate the acceptance of the *Regensburg Book*, he apparently realized that the effort for reconciliation with the Roman Catholics could move nowhere after Regensburg. He knew the reason for the failure. Soon he published an account of the colloquy, the *Acta colloquii*. Commenting on the first reply of the electors, princes and estates of the realm to the preceding imperial proposal concerning the conduct of the colloquy,⁶¹² Bucer wrote,

The Christian reader will notice that the Imperial Majesty communicated the acts of the colloquy to the papal legate for his valued opinions before they were judged by the estates. This was not his own wish, but the advice delivered by the electors, princes, and estates of the realm. Knowing, as he did, the position of the Pope on the reformation of the church, the Imperial Majesty was well aware that he could

⁶⁰⁸ Cf. Pastor (11: 460-1): 'The postponement of the discussion on the Primacy, to which Contarini, contrary to his instruction, had consented, in order that the conference might not be broken up on that point, had not displeased the Pope; yet the Legate must still bear the fact in mind that, eventually, as the Bavarian Dukes had already pointed out, the Protestants might give way on all the other articles, especially if they were equivocally expressed, in order that afterwards to concentrate all their opposition on this one point and bring it into odium as being the one and only stone of offence.'

⁶⁰⁹ Eells 1951: 160-74; Douglas 1959: 160-1.

⁶¹⁰ CR 4: 539-40: 'Sed Romanus Pontifex ... sumit sibi auctoritatem supra omnes Canones, et concilia, et vetat se corrigi ab aliis, etiamsi innumerabiles animas perdat...'

⁶¹¹ CR 4: 665.

⁶¹² CR 4: 476-491; CO 5: 586-596.

therefore expect nothing but delay and obstruction in the matter of Christian reconciliation and reformation. ...

It is apparent ... that the Pope's influence was the foremost obstruction to further action by the Reichstag. This was accomplished not merely by the legate's forwarding of the acts of the colloquy to the Pope, but also by many additional evil practices. He was able by means of especially compelling pressures to force several German princes to adopt his position.⁶¹³

After Regensburg, Bucer's attitude toward Rome became more and more antagonistic. Thus Eells remarked, 'Bucer, the Protestant champion in July, 1541, was a different man from Bucer, the conciliator in May.'⁶¹⁴

In the same year Calvin published the *Les Actes de la iournée imperiale, tenue en la cité de Regespourg*.⁶¹⁵ His purpose was to exalt 'le Regne de Iesus Christ' and to bring down 'la tyrannie de l'Antechrist' by allowing the readers to know what had transpired in the colloquy.⁶¹⁶ In the introduction, Calvin wrote that from the proceedings which took place in the colloquy, it was enough to show to those 'many weak people throughout the world, who dare not decide what path they must follow until there is a reformation brought about by the combined authority of those to whom God has given the rule and government of Christendom,' that 'it is time wasted to rely upon men, as they will easily see.'⁶¹⁷ The 'turpitude' of the Antichrist was almost everywhere.⁶¹⁸ One could not depend on him to reform or bring unity to the church. As we shall see later, he would spend more of his energy refuting the papacy in his later works. This he would do in two directions. First, he was prepared to expand his *Institutes*, including in it his major theological critique of the papacy. Second, he would continue to respond to anyone supporting the papacy as the occasion occurred.

4.3. The 1543 *Institutio*

4.3.1. Introduction: Scope and Motivation

Closely following his participation in the religious colloquies of 1540-41, Calvin worked on a revision of his *Institutes*. In 1543, a new Latin edition was published, in which his critique of the papacy entered a new phase. Scott H. Hendrix

⁶¹³ This English translation is taken from Ziegler (1969:166-7).

⁶¹⁴ Eells 1971: 297. In the next few years of his life, Bucer was bitterly engaging Catholic theologians in fierce polemic. See Van't Spijker 1996: 279-305; Eells 1931: 39-40.

⁶¹⁵ CO 5: 509-684. Before his departure from Strasbourg to Geneva, Calvin had completed the translation of Bucer's *Acta colloquii* and prepared it for publication. See van't Spijker 1996: 254.

⁶¹⁶ CO 5: 682.

⁶¹⁷ CO 5: 513-4; Cadier 1966: 122.

⁶¹⁸ CO 5: 683.

speaks of Luther's struggle with the papacy in terms of stages.⁶¹⁹ Calvin's conflicts with Rome can be described in similar terms and this is clearly discernible from the three successive editions of his *Institutio* from 1536 to 1543.⁶²⁰ With the 1536 *Institutio*, the enmity against Rome was barely tangible, as the young reformer only made scanty references to the papacy in the course of his criticism. In the 1539 *Institutio*, Calvin had sharpened his focus on the papacy, as we found him using the derogatory term 'popery' ('*papismus*')⁶²¹ to describe the 'papacy' ('*papatus*') and openly calling the pope the Antichrist.⁶²² With the 1543 *Institutio*, the whole picture was even more dramatically changed. In this revised Latin edition, a whole section in chapter 8, on the fourth part of the Apostolic Creed (On the Church), was devoted to refuting the primacy of the pope, which occupied a massive 20 pages.⁶²³ A closer reading will reveal that this treatment of the primacy of the pope is at the centre of a far wider criticism of the papacy. From a retrospective point of view, one can see that Calvin's later criticism of the papacy found its foundation in the formulation of the 1543 *Institutio*. Thus his criticism in this edition deserves a detailed examination.

Today, Bucer's contribution in shaping Calvin's ecclesiological thought in the 1543 *Institutio* is well established.⁶²⁴ It is also widely (and correctly) recognised that Calvin's church experiences in Basel, Strasbourg, and Geneva had led to 'considerable augmentation of the [1543] *Institutio*,'⁶²⁵ particularly in the chapter on the church. But were these two factors, that is, Bucer's theological influence and Calvin's own ecclesiological involvement in these cities, sufficient to motivate

⁶¹⁹ Hendrix 1981.

⁶²⁰ There are a number of studies on the development of the successive editions of Calvin's *Institutes*: the 'Prolegomena' in *CO* 1: xxi-lviii; the 'Introduction' in *CO* 3: vii-xlvii; Köstlin 1868: 7-62, 410-86; Doumergue 1899-1927: IV, 1-17; Warfield 1909; Wendel 1965: 111-49; Hesselink 1965: 65-72; Benoit 1966: 102-17; Neuser 1986: 33-54; McKee 1989: 154-72; McGrath 1990: 136-44; Parker 1975: 34-37, 72-74, 129-32; Battles 1980: 11-24. Parker 1995: 4-10; Muller 1999: 123-40; Muller 2000: 101-117, 118-139.

⁶²¹ *Institutio* 1539: 147: 'In eum modum cum res habeat sub *papismo* ...'

⁶²² *Institutio* 1539: 147.

⁶²³ *De primatu Papae. Institutio* (1543): 189-209.

⁶²⁴ Wendel (1965: 142-3): 'The emphasis placed upon the visible Church in 1539, and even more in the edition of 1543, is so Bucerian in tone that one can hardly be in doubt about its origin. Furthermore, throughout the beginning of the eighth chapter of 1543 we can rediscover, developed and systematized, the leading elements of the definition of the Church that Bucer had included in his Treatise on the Cure of Souls in 1538.' See also van't Spijker (1994: 38-9): 'Bucer's influence appears to be even stronger in the edition of 1543. Here Calvin devotes much attention to the church order that serves to build up the congregation. God himself reigns in the church. He exercises his rule by means of the Word. ... Calvin, like Bucer, described church office as a means to the church's unity ... In his analysis of the offices Calvin agrees closely with Bucer. He too distinguishes between temporary and permanent offices. The latter are the teachers and the shepherds. Calvin includes the work of the deacons and differentiates between the two kinds, i.e. caring for the poor and caring for the sick. In the caring for the sick, Calvin also allows a place for the ministry of women.'

⁶²⁵ Neuser 1986: 46.

Calvin to produce the 1543 *Institutio*? The situation becomes more interesting if one considers the timing of Calvin's revision.

The timing for writing the 1543 edition of the *Institutes* certainly deserves careful consideration. Between June 1540 and June 1541 Calvin was heavily occupied with the religious colloquies. He left Regensburg for Strasbourg on 20 June 1541 and then left Strasbourg on 1 September. He arrived at Geneva on 14 September 1541. A letter by Calvin dated January 1542 indicates that the writing of the 1543 *Institutio* was already underway. In fact, Calvin expected it to be finished shortly,⁶²⁶ although for some unknown reasons he did not publish it until 1543. The revision was done in such urgency, within a few months of his return to Geneva from Strasbourg. What was it that motivated Calvin to revise his *Institutes* again? The distinction must be made that it is one thing to say that Bucer's thought and Calvin's own church experiences influenced his ecclesiological thought in the 1543 *Institutio*. It is, however, another thing to assert that these two could explain the urgency of Calvin's revision. Clearly, this distinction does not mean that Bucer's influence and Calvin's ecclesiastical experiences in Basel, Strasbourg, and Geneva played no part in his edition of the 1543 *Institutio*. All that is suggested here is that these could not explain the haste with which Calvin revised his *Institutes* after his return to Geneva.

The main reason for Calvin to produce the 1543 revision in such urgency lies elsewhere. Today, it is also recognised that, as Neuser puts it,

the amplification [from 17 chapters of the 1539 *Institutio* to 21 chapters in the 1543 *Institutio*] was brought about by Calvin's intensified demarcation against Rome: he includes his experiences from the religious discussions in the *Institutio*.⁶²⁷

The colloquies of 1540-41 certainly provided the occasion and explained the sense of urgency in this revision. As will be demonstrated below, the 1543 *Institutio* has to do, among other revisions, with his response to the colloquies themselves, and this response concerns principally his critique of the papacy. To put it more pointedly, as a result of his participation in the religious colloquies of 1540-41, Calvin wanted to write into the *Institutes* not just positive teachings about the church (for which Bucer's influence and his own church experiences played a significant part) but also that the church as church did not need the papacy. That explains why immediately after the *summa* of the 1543 *Institutio* Calvin especially informed the reader that he had treated all the articles under the *summa* clearly and solidly. He assured the reader

⁶²⁶ CO 11: 364: 'Adde quod Institutionem latinam absolvere oportuit, in qua postquam exierit, videbis me non leviter sudasse.'

⁶²⁷ Neuser 1986: 45.

that all the objections raised by the adversaries had been refuted, and that the reader could rest satisfied that he would no longer be troubled by the perfidies of these *sophistae*.⁶²⁸ The polemical tone against the Roman Catholic camp in this edition could not be clearer.⁶²⁹

A brief examination of the content of the expansion of the 1543 *Institutio* can help strengthen our case. A comparison with the 1539 *Institutio*⁶³⁰ will show that in the 1543 *Institutio*, the number of chapters had been increased by four, which brought the total number to twenty-one.⁶³¹ In terms of chapter titles, there are only two new chapters. Chapter 4, on vows and monasticism, is one of them. Chapter 13, on human traditions, is another, which in fact absorbed into itself chapter 14 (on ecclesiastical power) of the 1539 *Institutio*. The four parts of the Apostles' creed grouped under chapter 4 in the 1539 *Institutio* now comprise three separate chapters (chapter 6, 7 & 8).⁶³²

If we measure the expansion by the increased number of pages, our understanding will be further sharpened. The 1539 *Institutio* has 435 pages⁶³³ and each page has about 540 words. With the 1543 edition, the number of pages increases to 505⁶³⁴ but each page has about 620 words. This means that, by taking into account the difference in the number of words in each page in the two editions, the 1543 edition has actually expanded by about 125 pages. One can readily see

⁶²⁸ The full text is: 'Haec omnia, perspicue ac solide in hisce institutionibus tractantur, & quicquid adversarii contra obiiciunt, ita confutatur, ut cuivis pio lectori ita satisfiat, ut posthac nihil huius modi *sophistarum* fucos sit curaturus' (italics mine). Calvin, *Institutio* 1543: f. β3r.

⁶²⁹ Gilmont also noted this remark of Calvin but he did not give further comment (see *Bibl. Calviniana* I: 130). It is my argument that Calvin's remark can be properly understood only against the background of the colloquies of 1540-41. Note also that in his remark Calvin did not name the anabaptists, the second main group of Calvin's opponents in the *Institutio*. He specifically marked out the *sophistae*. It is likely that he has some of the papal defenders in mind, like Eck, Cochlaeus, and Nausea, who were still fresh in his memory, as he had named them in his *Epinicion Christo cantatum* written in 1 January 1541 during the Colloquy of Worms.

⁶³⁰ Cf. Battles 1989: 15.

⁶³¹ Cf. Wendel 1965: 117.

⁶³² Note Fraenkel (1984: 154): 'En dernier lieu, faisons état des chapitres entièrement nouveaux que sont les nos 4 De votis, 8 De ecclesia et 13 De traditionibus humanis. Certes, Calvin a incorporé au ch. 8 des morceaux de son ancien chapitre 14 De potestate ecclesiastica. Néanmoins, le gros en est nouveau comme les sections qui se rapportent à l'apostolat, l'épiscopat et la papauté. Dans leur ensemble, ces trois chapitres paraissent bien refléter des problématiques soulevées par les colloques interconfessionnels plus que par la situation interne aux églises de Strasbourg ou de Genève. Formulons donc une première hypothèse concernant l'Institution de 1543: une bonne partie des ajouts et des transformations reflètent les expériences des années 1539-41, plutôt que celles des tout derniers mois précédant la publication de cette Institution.'

⁶³³ The title page, the letter to the reader (1539), the preface (1536), and the index are not included in this calculation.

⁶³⁴ Here again, the title page, the letter to the reader (1539), the preface (1536), the table of principal topics, and the index are not included in this calculation.

where this phenomenal inflation came from. Its explanation will help put Calvin's emphasis in focus.

The biggest expansion falls on chapter 8, which covers fols. 156-245.⁶³⁵ According to the *Summa eorum quae in hoc opere continentur* listed immediately after the *praefatio*, Calvin divided this chapter into seven major sections:

1. *De Ecclesia & illius symbolis*⁶³⁶
2. *De communione Ecclesiae non vitanda*⁶³⁷
3. *De Haereticis & schismaticis*
4. *De gubernatione & ordine Ecclesiae*
5. *De primatu Papae*
6. *De potestate & iurisdictione Ecclesiae*
7. *De disciplina, clauibus, correctione ac excommunicatione Ecclesiae*

Except for a few pages under section 7, which incorporated the material on the power of the keys and the remission of sins under chapter 4 of the 1539 *Institutio*, all discussions from section 4 onwards are new. These sections deal with Calvin's doctrine of the church, the ministry and government of the ancient church, and the papacy. This is where studies on Calvin's doctrine of the church have heavily concentrated, though most of them have left out the theme of the papacy or merely assigned to it a subordinate place.⁶³⁸ However, as we read these pages carefully, we do not find Calvin even giving the four ministerial offices a separate section.⁶³⁹ These offices were discussed under the section *De gubernatione & ordine Ecclesiae* and their discussion occupied the space of merely six pages.⁶⁴⁰ Moreover, the treatment each office received was not given proper balance as Calvin's emphasis lay

⁶³⁵ In the table of content the description of this chapter reads: QUARTAE PARTIS SYMBOLI EXPOSITIO: UBI DE ECCLESIA, EIUSQUE GUBERNATIONE, ORDINE, POTESTATE, AC DISCIPLINA AGITUR; ITEM DE CLAUIBUS, PECCATORUM REMISSIONE, & ULTIMA RESURRECTIONE. On fol. 156, which begins this chapter, the description reads: Credo sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam: Sanctorum communionem.

⁶³⁶ The content under the first section deals with the visible and invisible church.

⁶³⁷ The second section, in establishing the pure preaching of the Word and right administration of the sacraments as the two sure marks of the church, attacks the false claim to perfection of the Anabaptists. This section also continues Calvin's attack on the papacy by utilising the weapon of the two marks of the church—he continued the arguments of 1539 *Institutio* and added some more information. This already set the tone for the rest of the chapter and provided a direction to understand Calvin's emphasis in this chapter—*loci communes* and *disputationes* go hand in hand together.

⁶³⁸ Cf. Milner 1970: 150-7.

⁶³⁹ Cf. Wendel 1965: 142-3.

⁶⁴⁰ *Institutio* 1543: 168-174.

primarily on the office of pastors while the office of elders was delayed to a later section (chiefly under section 7). Also noteworthy is that, immediately after discussing these offices, Calvin went into a lengthy discussion of the condition of the ancient church.⁶⁴¹ If Calvin's purpose in the 1543 *Institutio* were merely to present his doctrine of the church, this prolonged discussion would not be necessary. As a matter of fact, this discussion was a preparation for the next examination, again another lengthy discussion in which he treated how the papacy overthrew the ancient form of government of the church.⁶⁴² This was indeed part of Calvin's step by step criticism of the papacy, which eventually led up to a separate section, *De primatu Papae*. The latter is by far the biggest section, covering fols. 189-209. Immediately after the section *De primatu Papae*, Calvin penned another big section titled *De potestate & iurisdictione Ecclesiae*.⁶⁴³ This section was an outgrowth from the relatively smaller section on ecclesiastical power in chapter six of the 1536 *Institutio*. But while the section in the 1536 *Institutio* only gave a passing reference to the papacy, the expansion in the 1543 *Institutio* clearly had sharpened its focus.⁶⁴⁴

The question is: how can this exponential growth in the criticism of the papacy be explained? To be sure, Sadoletto's letter to the Genevan people may partly account for Calvin's sensitivity to the critical relation between the papacy and the church. In rejecting Sadoletto's appeal to the Genevan people to return to 'the yoke of the Roman Pontiff'⁶⁴⁵ Calvin addressed the issue of papal primacy for the first time.⁶⁴⁶ But the events during 1540-41 certainly constituted the most proximate cause for this sharp formulation. Yet, how exactly these experiences contributed to the mounting criticism of the papacy in the 1543 *Institutio* remains to be elaborated in more concrete terms.

If anything, our study of Calvin's criticism of the pope during the colloquies of 1540-41 in the first part of this chapter certainly contributes to explaining the bulk of massive critique which Calvin levelled against the papacy in the 1543 *Institutio*. The events in Hagenau certainly provoked Calvin's anger against the papacy. As

⁶⁴¹ *Institutio* 1543: 174-80.

⁶⁴² *Institutio* 1543: 180-8.

⁶⁴³ *Institutio* 1543: 209-227.

⁶⁴⁴ *Institutio* 1543: 216.

⁶⁴⁵ CO 5: 385; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 49.

⁶⁴⁶ CO 5: 412-3; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 89.

pointed out above, his correspondence with his friends in the aftermath of the failure of the colloquy clearly reflected this.⁶⁴⁷ His contribution to advancing arguments against the primacy of the pope during the theologians' discussion on 18 November 1540 before the Colloquy of Worms took place certainly prepared him to outline detailed arguments against the pope's primacy in the 1543 *Institutio*. His poem, the *Epinicion Christo cantatum*, written on 1 January 1541 reveals clearly that he saw the pope as the greatest enemy in the colloquies. Then the sharp commentary published in March 1541 on the 'fatherly advice' of Pope Paul III to Emperor Charles V consolidated his mounting enmity against the pope. But the clearest evidence to establish the connection between Calvin's critique of the papacy in the 1543 *Institutio* and the colloquies of 1540-41 lies in the way he approached the issue of papal primacy in this Latin edition, to which we now turn.

4.3.2. Primacy of the Pope

4.3.2.1. *The Approach to Primacy*

At the heart of Calvin's criticism of the papacy in the 1543 *Institutio* is his critique of papal primacy. As mentioned above, he manifestly gave one section heading to this critique (*De primatu Papae*). The way Calvin approached his criticism of the primacy of the Roman see deserves closer attention.

Hitherto, we have examined those orders of the church which existed in the government of the ancient church but were thereafter corrupted by the times, then more and more vitiated, and which now retain only their name in the papal church and are actually nothing other than masks. This we have done that the godly reader might judge by comparison what kind of church the Romanists have, for the sake of which they make us guilty of schism, since we have separated from it. But *the head and summit of the whole order*, that is, the *primacy of the Roman see*, from which they strive to prove that the catholic church belongs to them alone, we have not touched on; because it originated neither in the institution of Christ, nor in the practice of the ancient church, as those former offices which, as we have shown, so arose from antiquity that they utterly degenerated through vice of the times, indeed, put on an entirely new form. *Yet they try to persuade the world that the peculiar and almost sole bond of church unity is that we cleave to the Roman see and continue in obedience to him. This, I say, is the foundation on which they principally rest, when they wish to take the church away from us and claim it for themselves, that they keep the head upon which church unity depends and without which the church must fall apart and be severed. For so they think: the church is a mutilated and decapitated body unless it be subject to the Roman see as its head. Therefore, when they dispute respecting their hierarchy, they always start from this axiom: the Roman pontiff, as the vicar of Christ, who is Head of the church,*

⁶⁴⁷ Letter to du Tailly on 28 July 1540 (CO 11: 64-67, esp. 65; LJC 1: 195); to Farel in October 1540 (LJC 1: 206-7).

presides over the whole church in his place; and the church cannot otherwise be well constituted unless that see hold primacy above all others. For this reason we must also examine this subject, that we may omit nothing that pertains to the right government of the church⁶⁴⁸ (italics mine).⁶⁴⁹

This formulation indicates clearly that Calvin's critique was a response to the colloquies of 1540-41.⁶⁵⁰ As explicated above, Article XIX of the *Regensburg Book* attempted to make the pope's role central to the unity of the church when at the same time it upheld his headship in the hierarchical structure of the church. As the quoted text shows, Calvin approached his critique of the primacy of the pope by reiterating these pretentious claims and then rejected them accordingly.⁶⁵¹ He knew that this connection between the primacy of the Roman see and the unity of the church had to be broken. The way to do it was to give a comprehensive rejection of the primacy of the Roman see in the 1543 *Institutio*.

Thus, this exponential growth of the critique of the papacy in the 1543 *Institutio* cannot be adequately explained apart from Calvin's experience in the colloquies of the 1540-41. This issue was so important that Calvin had to deal with it in his treatment of the doctrine of the church. Seen in this light, Calvin's purpose in chapter 8 of the 1543 *Institutio* is quite clear. His main purpose was not confined to setting forth his matured reflection of the doctrine of the church⁶⁵² but to give a

⁶⁴⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 188-9: 'Hactenus eos recensuimus Ecclesiae ordines qui in veteris Ecclesiae gubernatione fuerunt: sed postea temporibus corrupti, magis deinde ac magis vitati, nunc in Ecclesia Papali titulum duntaxat retinent, re vera nihil aliud sunt quam larvae; ut ex comparatione iudicaret pius lector qualem habeant Ecclesiam Romanenses, in cuius gratiam reos schismatis nos faciunt, quoniam ab ea discesserimus. Caput autem ac fastigium totius ordinis, hoc est primatum Romanae sedis, unde probare contendunt penes se solos esse Catholicam Ecclesiam, non attigimus; quia neque ex Christi instituto, neque ex Ecclesiae veteris usu sumpsit originem, ut illae superiores partes: quas ostendimus ita ab antiquitate ortas esse, ut temporum vitio prorsus degeneraverint, imo prorsus novam formam induerint. Et tamen persuadere mundo conantur, hoc esse praecipuum ac prope unicum Ecclesiasticae unitatis vinculum, si Romanae sedi adhaereamus, ac in eius obedientia perseveremus. Hac, inquam, fultura potissimum nituntur, quum nobis Ecclesiam adimere et sibi vindicare volunt, quod retinent caput ex quo pendet Ecclesiae unitas, et sine quo dissilire eam ac dirumpi necesse est. Sic enim existimant, Ecclesiam corpus esse quodammodo mutilum ac truncum, nisi Romanae sedi, tanquam capiti, sit subiecta. Itaque quum de hierarchia sua disputant, ab hoc semper axioma sumunt exordium: Romanum pontificem (tanquam Christi, qui caput est Ecclesia, vicarium) eius loco Ecclesiae universali praesidere: nec aliter bene constitutam Ecclesiam, nisi sedes illa super alias omnes primatum teneat. Quamobrem hoc quoque quale sit excutiendum est: nequid omittamus quod ad iustum Ecclesiae regimen pertineat.'

⁶⁴⁹ It should be remarked that in translating some of the 1543 *Institutio* texts in this chapter, I took Battle's translation as a reference but my aim is to improve on his translation. The present text is an example (cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.1.). I follow the Latin text closely but also attempt to make plain Calvin's meaning.

⁶⁵⁰ Helleman (1992: 187) failed to see this connection.

⁶⁵¹ The theme of papal primacy and church unity re-emerged in a few occasions, indicating that Calvin was still dealing with this major issue in his critique of the papacy in this edition. See *Institutio* (1543): 188-9, 193, 196, 198, 221, 229.

⁶⁵² Neuser-Armstrong (1986: 45): 'If one considers the number of newly-added expositions, the discussion with Rome does not take primary place but rather the extension of the doctrine of the

criticism of papal primacy as a response to the religious colloquies of 1540-41.⁶⁵³ *Loci communes*, which in this chapter refer to the themes related to the doctrine of the church, and *disputationes*, which accordingly refer to the issues related to the criticism of the papacy, were so skilfully blended together that one can hardly divorce the purpose of the one from the other. In terms of proportion of treatment, it is *disputationes* that come out as the most prominent feature in this chapter. If one does not understand Calvin's intention, one may feel that his treatment of the papacy in this chapter is simply out of proportion. On the other hand, if understood correctly, one can see that amongst his responses to the other issues raised during the colloquies, Calvin gave maximum effort and devoted the greatest number of pages to refute papal primacy in his new addition in the 1543 revision of his *Institutes*. The amount of effort which Calvin put into the critique of the papacy may help clarify one sentence from his letter dated January 1542 in which he told the recipient that when his *Institutio* came out, the latter would see that he 'sweated not slightly' therein.⁶⁵⁴

4.3.2.2. A Crucial question: the necessity of papal primacy

In his critique, Calvin began with a crucial question. This question is so carefully framed that it is better to quote his own words:

Whether it is necessary for the true form of the hierarchy (as they call it) or of the ecclesiastical order that any one see should have the preeminence among others *in dignity and power*, so as to be head of the whole body⁶⁵⁵ (italics mine).

He gave a direct, sharp response to this crucial question.

Truly, we place the church under very unjust laws if we impose this necessity upon it apart from God's Word.⁶⁵⁶

The weight of this outright rejection cannot be ignored. For Calvin, papal primacy cannot be imposed on the church since it has no foundation from the Word of God.

church and church order. It is not accidental that the explanation of the fourth article of the creed has been expanded so much, that it now forms a chapter on its own. The reason for the considerable augmentation of the *Institutio* can be attributed to Calvin's church experiences in Basel and in Strassbourg and particularly in Geneva.'

⁶⁵³ Thus Mooi (1965: 357) takes a more balanced view. He wrote that in the edition of the 1543 *Institutio*, Calvin was primarily interested in the doctrine of the church. At the same time, he notes that 'Calvin went to great length in his refutation of the claims of Roman primacy.'

⁶⁵⁴ CO 11: 364: 'Adde quod Institutionem latinam absolvere oportuit, in qua postquam exierit, videbis me non leviter sudasse.' See also *Bibli. Calviniana* I: 130.

⁶⁵⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 189: 'Hic igitur sit quaestionis status, Utrum ad veram hierarchiae (ut vocant) seu Ecclesiastici ordinis rationem necesse sit sedem unam inter alias et dignitate et potestate eminere, ut sit totius corporis caput.' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.2.

⁶⁵⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 189. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.2.

And since papal primacy has no support from the Word of God, it must be rejected. In the rest of the chapter, Calvin was to deny this primacy. The logic of Calvin is clear. Once he had refuted successfully the primacy of the Roman see, there existed no more necessity for the primacy in the government of the church. When this was done, there could be no more talk of the primacy as foundation for the unity of church. We shall examine Calvin's treatment below.

4.3.3. Arguments from the Old Testament

Calvin demands that if papal primacy is necessary for the true form of the church order, his opponent must first prove that this was instituted by Christ,⁶⁵⁷ which means that they must prove the case from Scripture.⁶⁵⁸ The Catholics used the high priesthood of the Old Testament⁶⁵⁹ and the supreme tribunal which God instituted in Jerusalem as proof for papal primacy in the church.⁶⁶⁰ In reply, Calvin challenged the validity of his opponents' reasoning, explaining why the example of the high priest and the supreme tribunal in Jerusalem could not be so applied. Then, he pointed out the relationship between the high priest and Christ.

First, there was no reason why what had been useful in one (Jewish) nation should be extended to the whole earth. On the contrary, there was a world of difference between the case of one single nation and that of the whole world. Here Calvin raised a practical as well as fundamental hermeneutical challenge. He could not allow the high priesthood or the supreme tribunal in Jerusalem of the Old Testament to be a model or paradigm for the government of the church. He would not spiritualize the meaning of priesthood in the Old Testament. He argued *a ratione naturali*,⁶⁶¹ like a lawyer,⁶⁶² and practically saw the high priesthood in Jerusalem as

⁶⁵⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 189: 'Ergo si volunt evincere adversarii quod postulant, ostendere eos primum oportet oeconomiam hanc a Christo esse institutam.'

⁶⁵⁸ The demand for the support of Scripture to prove the alleged primacy of the pope is one of Calvin's strongest arguments throughout his critique. Here one can notice that Calvin's method of arranging his arguments is very much in line with Cicero (1870: LXXVII)'s advice: 'Let ... the most powerful arguments therefore occupy the first place...' The close relationship between Calvin's method and Cicero's can be further demonstrated when, as we shall see later, Calvin also reserved some of his strongest arguments towards the end, as in the case of his use of *concessio*, just as Cicero proposed—'...at the same time that some portion of what is most effective ... be reserved for the close.' For Cicero as a model of style for the Reformation debate, see Kenny (2000: 179): 'Admiration for Cicero as a model of style meant that humanist controversialists treated their opponents like barristers hectoring a hostile witness.' See also Jones (1995: 3, 13, 15, 20, 25, 35); Breen (1957: 3-21); Grislis (1971: 5-37).

⁶⁵⁹ One clear example can go back to the thirteenth century when Innocent III (1198-1216) was fond of using Old Testament passages which elevated the position of the priesthood to support his version of papal supremacy. See Morris 1991: 432.

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. Eck (1521) 2: 30.

⁶⁶¹ Cf. Evans 2002: 101.

just the use of one nation, pointing out the impossibility of applying the form of spiritual leadership of the that one nation to the government of the church.

It is worth noting how Calvin explained this impossibility. He indeed admitted that God established the seat of his worship at the centre of the earth (*in medio terrae*)⁶⁶³ and appointed one high priest to preserve the 'unity' of religion among his people. But God did this because the Jews were surrounded by all idolaters and a variety of religions. Thus the high priest in Jerusalem was appointed in order to facilitate a better preservation of true religion. However, the situation was now different. As true religion was spread over the whole earth (*in totum orbem diffusa est*), it was utterly absurd to give the government (*moderatio*) of East and West to one man.⁶⁶⁴ In thus exposing the illogical inference of the Roman Catholics, he persuasively wrote,

It is as if someone should argue that the whole world ought to be ruled by one governor because one country has but one governor.⁶⁶⁵

Does that mean that Calvin totally broke with the Old Testament tradition? It does not seem so. Calvin's point lay in the way he related the New Testament to the Old Testament. Adducing Hebrews (Heb. 7: 12), he identified the Old Testament high priest as a type of Christ. Now with the priesthood transferred under the New Testament, the '*ius*' should also be transferred. But to whom was it transferred? Calvin answered:

Certainly, not to the pope (as he ventures shamelessly to boast) when he snatches the title unto himself, but to Christ, who, as he alone keeps that office *without vicar or successor*, thus resigns that honor to no one else⁶⁶⁶ (*italics mine*).

⁶⁶² Cf. Reid (1992a: 57): 'As one author has pointed out, no one can appreciate the character of Calvin's writings unless he recognizes his legal education, which trained him in the art of definitions, divisions, the asking of questions, the dealing with arguments effectively and the taking out of a text all that it was susceptible of giving.' Higman (1967: 49) remarks that 'practically all aspects of legal activities are evoked in the course of Calvin's argumentation.' Cf. Höpfl 1985: 12; Torrance 1988: 95-126.

⁶⁶³ Kimble (1938: 186) points out that the medieval church thought of Jerusalem as 'in medio terrae.'

⁶⁶⁴ Ecumenical theologians or churchmen today may seize the opportunity to ask Calvin, if possible, if at the beginning of the 21st century we are not living in a post-modern, utterly secularised world, that the church will need a central office of church government to maintain unity and purity of faith.

⁶⁶⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 189. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.2. Apart from sober exposing of illogical inference, certainly there is no less humour here. In Calvin's preface to Viret's *Disputations Chrestiennes* published in 1544, in which Calvin gives 'the fullest statement of his attitude to polemical writing,' Calvin stresses 'the justification of humorous treatment of heterodox subjects.' See Higman 1967: 7-8.

⁶⁶⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 189. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.2. Cf. Luther's *On the Papacy in Rome* (*LW* 29: 49-104). In this important work written in 1520, Luther had already sharpened his thought on the papacy. Luther affirmed that Christ alone was the Head of the church, and he did not delegate his authority to anyone and did not have a representative, since he promised to be present in his church until the end of times. All these thoughts found their inception by Calvin in the 1543 *Institutio*.

He was also convinced that only Christ could fulfil the office of priesthood. For priesthood consisted not in teaching only, which presumably the pope should be expected to do, but in appeasing God, which only Christ could and had accomplished on the cross. No less significant was that only Christ could make intercession for believers in his Father's presence.⁶⁶⁷ In all these, the pope had no part and no capacity to accomplish. What remained of papal primacy was but an unfounded claim rejected by Calvin. Here Calvin was not just any humanist controversialist⁶⁶⁸ relying on Cicero or Quintilian⁶⁶⁹ as a model for style. At heart Calvin was a theologian⁶⁷⁰ who saw Christ as the fulfilment of the Old Testament.

4.3.4. Arguments from the New Testament

Calvin knew the importance of the New Testament for the Catholic argument for papal primacy.⁶⁷¹ In this respect, there are a few key issues involved in his disputation, ranging from the meaning of the Petrine texts, to the power of binding and loosing, and the power of the keys. More significantly, the possibility of a 'ministerial' head over the whole church, as well as the manner of church unity, were treated in order. We shall also pay attention to Calvin's use of *concessio*. The latter was a special feature of his arguments, which was rarely spotted by scholars but crucial to an understanding of his criticism of the papacy. One cannot but feel that Calvin had thought through carefully each argument involved. We should note also Calvin's use of evidence, Scripture, and his manner of reasoning. Together these will give a fuller picture for understanding Calvin's attitude to the papacy.

Calvin asserted that the Roman Catholic opponents had nothing to confirm their opinion concerning papal primacy except the Petrine texts.⁶⁷² Undeniably, the

⁶⁶⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 189.

⁶⁶⁸ For a study of humanism and the Reformation, see McGrath 1993: 40-66; Rex 2002: 51-72; Matheson 1993: 23-42; Witt 1995: 93-126. For Calvin's relationship to humanism, see Breen 1931; Hall 1967; Engel 1988: 199-202; Gamble 1994: 97-101; White 1982: 148; Polman 1932: 65-8.

⁶⁶⁹ For example, Alfsvåg (1987: 85-126) studied Quintilian's influence on Luther on rhetoric style, in which the emphasis on influencing the emotion is accentuated. To be sure, Calvin's style differs markedly from Luther's. He never appealed excessively to emotions. Theology and rational arguments always control his style as a controversialist. Cf. Higman 1970: 30.

⁶⁷⁰ Higman 1970: 33-4.

⁶⁷¹ Schützeichel 1987: 42-63.

⁶⁷² In the seventh article of his *Excusatio*, Eck appealed to the classic text of Matthew 16: 18 to support the primacy: Peter was the 'rock,' upon which Christ would build His church. Eck also cited patristic authorities extensively such as Augustine, Ambrose and Jerome to support this view. See *CR* 1: 100. For a treatment of the Petrine texts in the patristic and medieval periods, see Grimes 1981: 14-54. Note Grimes (1981: 204)'s conclusion: 'During the ninth, tenth, and the first half of the twelfth centuries, the biblical texts relating to Peter's position were interpreted in a predominantly spiritual sense. Only from the mid-twelfth century is a truly 'Petrine' (i.e., primatial) understanding prevalent. Secondly, minimal evidence can be discovered to show significant influence of historical and/or papal

Petrine texts were of fundamental importance for papal primacy. As it has been widely accepted,

the Catholic doctrine of primacy is founded on their doctrine of the primacy of the Apostle Peter.⁶⁷³

That is why Calvin dealt with these texts first.⁶⁷⁴ He quoted especially Matthew 16: 18 ('You are Peter, and upon this rock I shall build my church'⁶⁷⁵) and John 21: 15 ('Peter, do you love me? Feed my sheep.') On examining Calvin's handling of the Petrine texts one crucial observation should be made. Calvin's treatment was not the kind of exegetical study that relied on examining the vocabularies or syntax of each text. He did not concentrate on the grammatical, syntactical, or semantic aspects.⁶⁷⁶ His method was to pay close attention to the context and make use of parallel texts, in order to establish the meaning of the texts under discussion,⁶⁷⁷ backed up by forceful reasoning.⁶⁷⁸ Calvin's method was like a lawyer arguing a case in the court by drawing on a wide range of evidences (scriptural, patristic, etc.), examining, interrogating, even hypothetically conceding, and refuting with orderly procedures and logical persuasion.⁶⁷⁹ We shall examine his argument in order.⁶⁸⁰

ideological developments on the exegesis of the Petrine texts prior to the twelfth century. The sole exception would be Odo's adoption of the fifth-century exposition of Leo the Great.' Cf. Brown (1973: 83, n. 189): 'In the exegesis of the Church Fathers and, even of the medieval theologians (including Thomas Aquinas) surprisingly little attention was focused on this text for establishing the authority of the Roman church.' Posset (2001: 215-221) also gives a review of the history of the understanding of Matthew 16: 18. Cf. Von Balthasar 1986: 76, n. 23.

⁶⁷³ Afanassieff 1963: 57. Clearly, the Petrine texts are as important today. See Von Balthasar 1986: 229.

⁶⁷⁴ As early as 1518, in his meeting with Cajetan (*WA* 2: 126), Luther challenged the idea that one could found the primacy of Rome on Matthew 16: 18. Again in Luther's debate with Eck in 1519, Luther rejected Eck's idea that the papacy was of divine institution and went back to Christ himself. Cf. Lienhard 1998: 165.

⁶⁷⁵ Cf. Allen (1954: 61-2) suggests that 'Matthew wrote 16: 17ff *with the Church of his day in mind*.'

⁶⁷⁶ By contrast, Cajetan attempted to draw out all the implications of Jesus' '*Tu es Petrus*' and '*Tibi dabo*.' See Wicks 1978: 110.

⁶⁷⁷ Incidentally, my observation found confirmation in Higman's comment on the exegetical practice of Calvin's polemical works. See Higman 1967: 33.

⁶⁷⁸ Commenting on Calvin's arguments against Rome, Polman (1932: 87) wrote, 'L'agencement des preuves est, comme on le voit, très souvent remarquable, l'argument de raison venant en premier lieu.' For Calvin's polemical method, see Polman (1932: 83-84).

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. Evans (2002: 147)'s study of the use of evidence in theological and legal arguments in the Middle Ages: '... mediaeval "proving" normally looked to "reasoning" and "authorities" as grounds for accepting a conclusion.' See Evans 2000: 147.

⁶⁸⁰ Only in his commentary on the Petrine texts did Calvin discuss the meaning of each verse in more details. Still he was conscious of the continuity between his expositions and his refutation of the papal claims in the 1543 *Institutio*. So after he had given 'a plain exposition of the meaning of words,' Calvin launched a relentless attack on the 'Roman Antichrist,' and then reminded the reader that he had in the *Institutes* a 'complete discussion' of his argument. One can see the importance of the 1543 *Institutio* for his anti-papal writings. See CTS *Comm. Matt.* 16: 18-9; cf. CTS *Comm. Joh.* 20: 21-3; 21: 15-16.

4.3.4.1. The Petrine Texts

4.3.4.1.1. Feeding, Binding and Loosing

First, Calvin demanded that if the Petrine texts could be taken as substantial proofs for papal primacy, the burden of proof lay on the Roman Catholic opponents to demonstrate that

power over all churches has been committed to him who is commanded to feed Christ's flock, and that to bind and loose is no other than presiding over the whole world.⁶⁸¹

Calvin was in effect challenging his opponents' exegetical understanding, pointing out that Peter's being 'commanded to feed' was semantically different from 'given power to rule,' and 'to bind and loose' was conceptually different from 'to preside over.' Moreover, according to I Peter, just as Peter had received from the Lord the command to feed, so he also exhorted all other presbyters to do the same for the church. This meant that that nothing had been given to Peter above the others, or that Peter equally shared with others the right that he had received. Peter's own words testified that he had not been accorded primacy from Christ. As to the meaning of binding and loosing, Calvin appealed to the *mouth of Christ (os christi)* according to John 20: 13, in which Christ spoke of retaining and forgiving sins. This was exactly a clear explanation (*clara expositio*) of what binding and loosing meant, which again did not involve any sense of primacy.⁶⁸² Calvin also added an explanation of the manner (*modus*) of binding and loosing. This time he drew explanation from Paul. When the ministers of the gospel reconciled men to God and at the same time exercised *vindicta* upon those who rejected the gospel, they were performing the task of binding and loosing. Again, all these had nothing to do with primacy.

4.3.4.1.2. Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven

As regards the keys of the Kingdom, Calvin rejected the Roman Catholic claim that when Christ promised Peter the keys, he was appointing Peter as the prince of the whole church.⁶⁸³ Again, he appealed to other texts of Scripture, pointing out that the same right was given to the rest of the Apostles:⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸¹ *Institutio* (1543): 189. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.3.

⁶⁸² *Institutio* (1543): 190.

⁶⁸³ For Cajetan, for example, who advocates the papalist position to the extreme, by the keys Christ promised Peter the fullness of ecclesiastical authority. Such authority embraces a fourfold power: (1) A judicial power for exercise both in the forum of sacramental penance and in the forum of the church; (2) The governing power over the Catholic Church, which involves arranging, governing,

If the same right, which had been promised to one, was granted to all, in what respect is he superior to his colleagues?⁶⁸⁵

He also drew on the support of Cyprian⁶⁸⁶ and Augustine.⁶⁸⁷ According to Cyprian,⁶⁸⁸ Peter was given the keys of heaven. But this was given to him in order to signify the unity of all, since the other Apostles were also given the same honour and power.⁶⁸⁹ According to Augustine,⁶⁹⁰ the keys of heaven were given to Peter but this again was not given to his own person but to the whole church, and it was in this sense that the mystery of the church had been in Peter and Peter was the symbol of the church.⁶⁹¹

One crucial observation of Calvin's use of Cyprian and Augustine here is that in principle Calvin did not deny that Peter embodied the unity of the church in his person, but this is a unity that must not be based on superiority of power. Peter could be seen as the centre of unity for the church but he shared equal power with all other apostles. What this implies is that what Calvin rejected about the Roman bishop's role as the centre of unity for the church was due to the fact that the pope saw

appointing, disposing, and other acts of this kind; (3) An authority which extends also to purgatory, opening or closing the kingdom of heaven on behalf of those in purgatory; (4) The power to command all who pertain in any way to the church, which entails the power of commanding all kings and princes with reference to the kingdom of heaven. See *The Divine Institution of the Pontifical Office...* (1521) in Wicks (1978: 114-5). Cf. Morris 1991: 431.

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. Luther's reply to Cajetan in 1518 (*WA* 2: 126), in which Luther adhered to the exegesis of the fathers, upholding that Christ's promise in Matthew 16: 19 did not apply to Peter alone but to all the apostles, and Peter answered Christ's question in the name of the other apostles (Matthew 16: 16).

⁶⁸⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 190. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.4.

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. Zillenbiller (1993: 132) on Calvin's participation in the religious colloquies and his reading of the fathers. On Cyprian's influence on Calvin regarding the doctrine of the church see Zillenbiller 1993: 101-132.

⁶⁸⁷ Cf. K  ng 1995: 313-4

⁶⁸⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 191: 'Sic enim loquitur Cyprianus, In persona unius hominis *Dominum* dedisse omnibus claves, ut omnium unitatem denotaret; hoc utique fuisse reliquos quod erat Petrus: *pari consortio praeditos et honoris et potestatis*: sed *exordium ab unitate fieri, ut Ecclesia Christi una monstretur*' (italics mine). This quotation shows that Calvin was basically following the *Textus Receptus* (T.R.) of Cyprian's text in the latter's *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate*. Cf. *CSEL* 3: 1. 212; tr. *LCC* V: 126). For the two versions of Cyprian's text, the 'Primacy' Text (P.T.), and the *Textus Receptus* (T.R.), with Latin and English, see Cyprian 1977: 62-5. For a discussion of which text comes first, see B  venot 1954: 26; B  venot 1938: 52-65.

⁶⁸⁹ Cf. Merdinger (1997: 48) bears out this view of Calvin's.

⁶⁹⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 191: 'Augustinus vero, Si in Petro non esset Ecclesiae mysterium, non ei diceret Dominus, Tibi dabo claves; si enim hoc Petro dictum est, non habet Ecclesia: si autem Ecclesia habet, Petrus quando claves accepit, *Ecclesiam totam designavit*. Et alibi, quum interrogati essent omnes, solus Petrus respondet, Tu es Christus: et ei dicitur, Tibi dabo claves, quasi ligandi et solvendi solus acceperit potestatem: quum et illud unus pro omnibus dixerit, et hoc cum omnibus, tanquam personam gerens ipsius unitatis, acceperit. *Ideo unus pro omnibus, quia unitas est in omnibus*' (italics mine). Cf. *PL* 35: 1762 f., 1478, 1973 f.; tr. *NPNF* VII: 282, 78; *PL* 35: 1949; tr. *NPNF* VII: 405; *PL* 38: 1349. It is also worth noting that although Augustine never wrote a separate treatise on the church, when gleaned from his writings, it is *caritas* not *potestas* that is the hall-mark of the unity of the church. See Brockwell 1977: 91-109, esp. 101. See also Weinrich 1991: 270-6, 279-82.

⁶⁹¹ Note that Eno (1981: 165-6) comes to the same conclusion.

himself as superior to all others in terms of power. For Calvin, unity must be based on equality rather than superiority of power, the latter being exemplified in the hierarchical structure of the Roman Catholic Church with the pope as its head. This was a radical conceptual revision of the Roman Catholic idea and of the article proposed in the *Regensburg Book* which based unity on papal primacy.⁶⁹²

4.3.4.1.3. You are Peter

As regards the heart of the Petrine texts Calvin recognised that Christ's statement, '*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam ...*,' was nowhere spoken to another but to Peter alone, a classic Roman Catholic position.⁶⁹³ Again, his reply shows that the 1543 *Institutio* was a follow-up reaction to the colloquies of 1540-41. We recall that on 18 November 1540 Calvin gave his opinion on the primacy of the pope during a private meeting of Protestant theologians.⁶⁹⁴ Here in the 1543 *Institutio* he picked up the arguments he advanced during the theologians' private discussion and expanded on them with some new ideas. It appears that he did make use of one or two of the theologians' ideas during the November 1540 meeting and recast them to serve his purpose.

In his reply to the claim that Peter was the rock upon which Jesus built his church,⁶⁹⁵ Calvin appears to have borrowed from Osiander's ideas.⁶⁹⁶ During the theologians' private meeting at Worms Osiander expressed the view that Peter was only the first stone in Christ's building of the church and hence he was not better

⁶⁹² Quoting the same text, Fischer (1985: 21) has noted this concept of unity for Calvin. But it is strange that Fischer (1985: 20) dated Calvin's criticism of the papacy to 1545: 'Dès 1545, le Réformateur relève chez Jean Eck l'argument essentiel qui définit la primauté : « La prééminence, disent-ils, est en cela, qu'il reçoit luy seul à part, et en commun avec les autres, ce qui nest donné aux autres sinon à tous ensemble ».' It appears that Fischer was unaware that the text used belongs to the 1543 *Institutio*. The texts she quoted shows that she was using the French translation of the 1559 *Institutio*.

⁶⁹³ See for example: Cajetan's *The Divine Institution of the Pontifical Office...* (1521) in Wicks (1978: 110).

⁶⁹⁴ See above the section on the deliberations of Protestant theologians (8 November-18 November 1540).

⁶⁹⁵ Posset (2001: 233)'s study deserves to be noted: 'Luther's contemporary Dominican and Franciscan opponents appear to have taken from the history of the interpretation of Matthew 16: 18 and from the history of the effect (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) of this verse only those elements that support the equation, rock=Peter the person, disregarding Augustine's own revision in his *Reconsiderations* (*Retractationes*), and also disregarding all the other scholars and canon lawyers who argued with 1 Corinthians 10: 4 (*petra autem erat christus*) that petra in Matthew 16: 18 most of all means Christ. Luther drew out the ancient line that the rock is Christ; everything else is derived and dependent upon Christ.'

⁶⁹⁶ This is an observation first made by Fraenkel (1965: 612): 'Ce que Osiander avait dit à Worms, Calvin l'illustre dans l'Institution par l'exemple de l'apôtre André.' Thus Fraenkel went on to say, 'Calvin s'est inspiré ici des discussions de Worms, même du point de vue formel.'

than the other stones in the building of the church. Thus, Peter had absolutely no prerogative or authority over the rest of the apostles. Osiander's proposal, as he himself admitted, was speculative.⁶⁹⁷ It appears that Calvin upon his own reflection attempted to present his argument on a scriptural ground. Thus he cited Paul, who made 'Christ... the chief cornerstone' in the building of the church [Ephesians 2: 20-21], and then Peter, who bid believers to be the living stones [I Peter 2: 5-6].⁶⁹⁸ The effect was that Peter was but one of the rocks upon which Christ built his church while Christ remained the cornerstone. From this, one can see again that Calvin used other scriptural passages to establish the meaning of one passage under discussion, namely, the passage '*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam* ...,' and did not allow his opponents to speculate on one isolated passage alone.

Moreover, Calvin did acknowledge the honour given to Peter, for the Lord did call Peter by name when he said 'I will build my church...,'⁶⁹⁹ again a point significant for our understanding of his view of Peter. But still this did not mean that Peter had as a result primacy over others. Calvin made the distinction that the primacy of honour was different from the primacy of power. In Acts, the apostles generally yielded honour to Peter, as when Peter spoke in the congregation and preceded others in discussion and exhortation. But this was not about power accorded to Peter.

Calvin's response reminds us of Luther's influence here.⁷⁰⁰ In the *Resolutio super propositione XIII*,⁷⁰¹ his first treatise on the subject of the papacy published in June 1519, Luther had already made the distinction between a primacy of honour and a primacy of power.⁷⁰² It should be noted that the *Resolutio super propositione XIII* marked a new stage in Luther's attitude to the papacy⁷⁰³ in which he rejected the

⁶⁹⁷ As a matter of fact, Osiander's interpretation is not uniquely original. It went back to a letter of patriarch of Constantinople in reaction against Innocent III's papacy. See Meyendorff 1963: 19.

⁶⁹⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 191.

⁶⁹⁹ Cf. Pelikan 1959: 35-6.

⁷⁰⁰ Polman (1932: 68): 'C'est d'origine allemande qu'est la Réforme française. A l'époque où Calvin commençait sa carrière de réformateur, les oeuvres de Luther et de Mélanchthon avaient déjà pénétré en France, où nombreuses en étaient les éditions latines et les traductions françaises. Calvin les a lues...' For Luther's influence of Calvin, cf. Wendel 1965: 122-3, 131-6; Ganoczy 1988: 137-145; Lang 1936: 135; Schützeichel 1971: 44; Selinger 1984: 13; Nijenhuis 1994c: 52-61; Warfield 1992: 660.

⁷⁰¹ *Resolutio Lutheriana super propositione sua decima tertia de potestate papae* (WA 2: 180-240). This *Resolutio* follows up Luther's counterthesis 13 (LW 31: 318; WA 2: 161, 35-39) against Eck's thirteenth thesis (WA 9: 209-10). Cf. Brecht 1985: 307-9; Lohse 1999: 118-21; Hendrix 1981: 81-5; Bagchi 1991: 46-8; Fraenkel 1967: 116-63.

⁷⁰² Polman 1932: 161.

⁷⁰³ Fraenkel 1967: 159. Lohse (1999: 121): 'Here he submitted a polemic that attacked the foundation of the late medieval church.'

divine right of the papacy and could only accord a primacy of honour to the pope.⁷⁰⁴ We shall see more of Luther's shadow below.

We encounter one spectacular point about Calvin's view of the fathers here in his reply to his opponents' claim that some fathers interpreted 'upon this rock' as referring to Peter.⁷⁰⁵ Calvin wrote,

But since all Scripture cries out in protest [against these fathers' interpretations], why is their authority alleged in excuse against God?⁷⁰⁶

For Calvin, though he honoured the fathers and would time and again adduce their arguments in his writings,⁷⁰⁷ when the opinions of the fathers were in conflict with Scripture, he would rather let Scripture prevail over their authority.⁷⁰⁸ This is consistent with his attitude to the fathers stated in the 1536 *Institutio* as well as his speech during the Lausanne disputation. Moreover, Calvin was satisfied that the 'rock' refers to Peter's confession.⁷⁰⁹ Then with the support of Paul's texts, his conviction that Christ was the foundation of the church remained unshaken.⁷¹⁰

At the same time, Calvin's legal and humanist training is no less evident when he asked sharply:

For what sort of reasoning is this? He excelled others in fervour of zeal, in doctrine, and in intensity of courage; therefore, he has power over them.⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁴ *WA* 2: 209, 227, 233.

⁷⁰⁵ For example, *Eck's Enchiridion*, ch. 3, in Eck (1979b: 28-29), which lists the opinion of the fathers. See also Jedin 1957: 401.

⁷⁰⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 191: 'Sed quum reclamet tota Scriptura, quid eorum autoritas adversus Deum praetenditur?' cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.6.

⁷⁰⁷ Polman quotes Köstlin, 'Il ne serait pas facile de trouver chez un autre réformateur une pareille collection de citations qui présente autant de richesse et autant de concision. Et cependant ces citations s'offrent d'elles-mêmes à leur place, sans rien de cherché, sans ostentation. On voit que l'auteur n'a pas lu seulement les textes pour les besoins du moment, mais qu'il puise dans un trésor qui est à sa disposition.' See Polman 1932: 67.

⁷⁰⁸ On this point, Calvin again is in line with Luther. See *WA* 2: 278: 'Though Augustine and all the fathers were to take the "rock" to mean Peter, I should withstand them all alone by the authority of the apostle, that is by divine right, as he writes: "No other foundation can anyone lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ."' This translation is quoted from Pelikan 2001: 83. See also Oberman 1993: 222-3. Cf. also Lane (1999: 35): 'Calvin's respect for the fathers was great, but not unqualified. ... The Scriptures are the only infallible norm and the teaching of the fathers is to be judged in the light of Scripture.' Cf. Calvin's critique of the fathers on the use of John 17: 21 in the Arian controversy. See *CTS Comm.* Jn. 17: 21.

⁷⁰⁹ Cf. Brown (1973: 93, n. 216): 'This is an ancient view attested in many Church Fathers (Origen, Eusebius, Ambrose, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, etc.).' cf. also Seitz 1950: 329-40, and Knight 1960: 168-80; Blank 1973: 42-55. Any discussion of Matt. 16: 17-19 today cannot bypass Cullmann (1962). However, it should be pointed out that by far the most up-to-date study of Matt. 16: 18 is Caragounis (1990), which is based on a re-examination of a whole series of philological evidence (Greek, Aramaic, Syriac) as well as Greek exegesis. In his conclusion, Caragounis (1990: 106) also refers *petra* to Peter's confession.

⁷¹⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 192.

⁷¹¹ *Institutio* (1543): 191. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.5.

For Calvin, if the primacy of Peter cannot in truth be grounded on Jesus' statement to Peter, the claim that Peter possessed this primacy must be based on false reasoning. Calvin could not but subject his opponents to ridicule.⁷¹²

4.3.4.2. Peter in the New Testament

In order to refute Peter's (and hence the pope's) authority over the church Calvin went beyond the Petrine texts and gave extra effort to survey the picture of Peter in the New Testament. Again, on examining his arguments, one can see that some of Calvin's portraits of Peter were already found in the *Resolutio super propositione XIII*. He drew on Luther but he expanded from him and wrote in a way that was uniquely his own. His picture of Peter was more coherent and complete. His arguments, as we have seen and will continue to see, built on one another and were presented so as to give the impression that they issued from the Scripture. Moreover, while Luther's treatise was written at a time when he had not reached the point of rejecting the papacy absolutely,⁷¹³ Calvin, in appropriating Luther's

⁷¹² One can see the importance of Calvin's discussion of the Petrine texts here. Since then Calvin was never tired of criticising and rejecting the claims of papal primacy in his Commentaries and Sermons. In the Commentary on Matthew (1555) Calvin was acutely aware of the continuity of his arguments against the papal interpretation of the Petrine texts, which he started in the 1543 *Institutio*. Thus in CTS *Comm.* Matt. 16: 19 he wrote, 'But they allege that he was also bishop there. How frivolous that allegation is, I have made abundantly evident in my *Institutes*, (Book 4, Chapter 6) to which I would willingly send my reader for a complete discussion of this argument, rather than annoy or weary him by repeating it in this place. Yet I would add a few words....' Cf. A few lines earlier he wrote, 'But not to be tedious, as we must acknowledge the truth and certainty of the declaration of Paul, that the Church can have no other *foundation* than Christ alone, (1 Corinthians 3:11; Ephesians 2:20,) it can be nothing less than blasphemy and sacrilege when the pope has contrived *another foundation*. And certainly no words can express the detestation with which we ought to regard *the tyranny of the Papal system on this single account, that, in order to maintain it, the foundation of the Church has been subverted, that the mouth of hell might be opened and swallow up wretched souls.*' Cf. also CTS *Comm.* Eph. 2: 20 (published 1548); Also, in JCSE (preached through May 1558 and March 1559) Sermon 15: 224 shows how before his audience he threshed out his severe rejection of the papal interpretation of the Petrine texts: 'And indeed we see their cursed presumption in that they have been so bold as to say that the See of Rome is the foundation of the church. For they abuse these words of our Lord Jesus Christ in the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew: "Thou art Peter, and upon this stone the church will be built." [Matt. 16: 18] Now when Jesus Christ says that Peter shall be built upon himself (that is to say, upon Jesus Christ) he does not mean to resign his office either to him or to any other, but thereby it appears that among all papists there has not been any reverence for the holy Scriptures, nor any desire to be taught, but that that was all one to them *so that they might set up a tyranny to crush the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ and to make it a ruin*, if it were possible. They have made no conscience of manifest blasphemy, so much so that even little children ought to have spit in their faces considering the gross folly that has been among them. And in this it is also to be seen *how the devil has reigned in total darkness, that God's Word was buried, and even utterly wiped out, and the wretched world robbed of it for a time*, in spite of the fact that it was their ordinary food' (italics mine). On Calvin's audience in his Commentaries (Lectures), see Wilcox 1996: 136-48.

⁷¹³ Cf. Hendrix 1981: 82, 117. An older view for Luther's break with Rome was around the time of his *Address to the Christian Nobility*. This gave way to the view that Luther's break matured after he had received *Exsurge Domine*. The bull arrived in Wittenberg on Oct 10, 1520. In November Luther

arguments, described Peter in a framework in which he was to completely undermine the whole biblical foundation of papal primacy.

In Calvin's description, Peter in the New Testament was one among the twelve Apostles. He was the equal of the rest, not their master.⁷¹⁴ It is true that in the council of Jerusalem he advised what needed to be done, but he listened to the others and let them express their opinion. The decision of the council was the decision of the Apostles, and Peter followed and obeyed their decree. Peter also presented himself as the equal of other pastors. In his letter to the pastors, Peter did not command them as a superior did. He gently exhorted them, making them his colleagues. Peter was also one who could be accused. In fact, he was depicted as one who received unjustified accusation but answered it and cleared himself. Peter had been sent by the other Apostles to go with John to Samaria. At their command he did not refuse. Again, this point had already been observed by Luther in the *Resolutio super propositione XIII*.⁷¹⁵ But in his own way Calvin wrote,

By sending him, the apostles declare that they by no means count him their superior. In yielding to them and undertaking the mission (*legatio*) entrusted upon him, he admits that he is in fellowship with them, not in supreme power (*imperium*) over against them.⁷¹⁶

The relationship between Peter and Paul in the letter to the Galatians provided yet another indication regarding Peter's position in the church. In fact, Calvin put so much emphasis on this evidence that if none of the passages discussed above existed, he was convinced that this fact alone would leave us with no doubt that Peter held no primacy above the others. In Calvin's words, in Galatians, Paul devoted almost two whole chapters to the sole purpose of demonstrating that he was equal to Peter in honour. Paul's coming to Jerusalem was not to show subjection to Peter, but to attest their agreement in doctrine. Peter himself demanded no subjection but recognised that no less grace was conferred upon Paul among the Gentiles than

printed *Against the Bull of the Antichrist*, in Latin and German. On December 10 he burned the bull *Exsurge Domine*. On January 3, 1521, Luther was excommunicated by Leo X.

⁷¹⁴ In his *Defensor Pacis*, chs. 15 and 16, pp. 336ff, Marsilius had already noted that Peter and the apostles had all been equal with one another under Christ. cf. Leff 1967: 68. The influence of the thought of Marsilius of Padua in the Reformation era cannot be ignored. At the end of 1520s the ideas of Marsilius was among the 13 named reformers, contemporary as well as historical, forbidden by Charles V. See Blockmans 2002: 100.

⁷¹⁵ *WA* 2: 203: 'Petrus enim primus apostolorum fuit, sed nullam in eos auctoritatem habuit unquam, immo contra, Apostoli in Petrum habuerunt auctoritatem, ut Act. Viiij. [14] scribitur, quod apostoli miserunt Petrum et Iohannem qui tunc primores erant inter apostolos, et tamen missi sunt ab apostolis tanquam maioribus ad Samariae fideles.'

⁷¹⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 192 'Quod eum mittunt Apostoli, eo declarant se minime eum habere pro superiori: quod obsequitur et legationem sibi mandatam suscipit, eo fatetur sibi cum illis esse societatem, non adversus eos *imperium*' (italic mine). Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.7.

upon himself among the Jews.⁷¹⁷ Finally, Paul also testified that when, referring to Galatians 2: 11-14, Peter '*minus fideliter ageret*,'⁷¹⁸ he corrected him, and Peter yielded to his reproof.⁷¹⁹ Calvin concluded,

All these things make it plain, either that there was equality between Paul and Peter, or at least that Peter had no more power over the rest than they had over him.⁷²⁰

If Peter had no superiority over Paul or the other Apostles, one may infer that the foundation of the papal primacy had been undermined. Calvin, however, did not stop at this.⁷²¹ He went one step further in rejecting the primacy of the Roman papacy by

⁷¹⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 192.

⁷¹⁸ Today Catholic scholars still take upon themselves the task of explaining this 'wrongdoing' of Peter. See Döllinger 1906: 61-64; Balthasar 1986: 157.

⁷¹⁹ One may also pick up Luther's influence here. In the same *Resolutio super prop. XIII*, Luther also marked this observation, '... Gala. Ij. Antiochiaie Petrus a Paulo reprehendebatur...' *WA* 2: 235. From this Luther deduced Peter's fallibility, a point which Calvin would develop later.

⁷²⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 192. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.7. Cf. Lohse (1991: 429), 'Summarizing how Paul was judging Peter's apostleship, ... it is quite clear that ... [Paul] insisted that his own apostleship was to be seen as of the same rank.'

⁷²¹ Calvin developed further Paul's rebuke of Peter in the Epistle to Galatians and applied it to his critique of the pope more fully in his Sermons on Galatians (preached through 14 Nov 1557-8 May 1558). See CTS *Comm.* Gal. 2: 11: 'This is another thunderbolt which strikes the Papacy of Rome. It exposes the impudent pretensions of the Roman Antichrist, who boasts that he is not bound to assign a reason, and sets at defiance the judgment of the whole Church. Without rashness, without undue boldness, but in the exercise of the power granted him by God, this single individual (i.e. Paul) chastises Peter, in the presence of the whole Church; and Peter submissively bows to the chastisement. Nay, the whole debate on those two points was nothing less than a manifest overthrow of that tyrannical primacy, which the Romanists foolishly enough allege to be founded on divine right. If they wish to have God appearing on their side, a new Bible must be manufactured; if they do not wish to have him for an open enemy, those two chapters of the Holy Scriptures must be expunged.' Cf. *JCSG* Sermon 10 (Gal. 2: 11-14): 147-9. See esp. *JCSG* Sermon 10 (Gal. 2: 11-14): 151 in which is disclosed Calvin's determination to fight against the pope's claim to primacy by the example of Paul's rebuke of Peter: 'Today, when we see man's foolish boldness in setting himself against God, let us strengthen ourselves against this, so that we will not be taken by surprise. We need to be sure of the cause which we uphold and for which we must fight. Let us rigorously despise that pestilential den containing the pope and all his clergy. May such stinking vermin be nothing to us, since they exalt themselves above the Lord Jesus Christ. Indeed, though they use his name and seek to hide their mischief behind it, in his name, they actually tread his gospel under foot, and even seek to bury it. Or they create such a confusing mixture of truth and error that no one knows what is right. Seeing that they are thus possessed by the devil, let us not be afraid to arm ourselves for the battle and to fight to the end. Indeed, of all causes for battle, ours seems more favourable even than Paul's must have seemed in his day. Whilst it is true that the cause is one and the same and proceeds from the same source, yet Paul opposed ceremonies which God had appointed with his own mouth. Why was this? Well, because the gospel had been obscure as yet to them; the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ had been overshadowed and they began to stress the doctrine of man's merit instead. They had not understood the purpose for which God had given the law. Today, for the same reasons, we are fighting against the abominations which have arisen in Popery, yet with this added reason: that their doctrine has been invented by Satan and by men. We know for certain that when men rule according to their own desires, all is vanity and lies, because they do not yield themselves in obedience to God. This being the case, let us fight all the more courageously, because our Lord Jesus Christ has given us ample reason not to fear men's lofty titles, which are nothing less than Satanic delusions. This is a summary of what we need to learn.' This fighting spirit is assertive enough. But we should remember that it all

rhetorically assuming three concessions. These concessions, as Calvin's arguments unfold itself, show how he had rejected the Roman papacy absolutely.

4.3.5. Calvin's *Concessio*

Concessio is a common rhetorical device in Calvin's polemic against the Roman church. If one does not understand the nature of Calvin's *concessio*, one will easily end up thinking that Calvin was only making conditional rejection of the papacy, as Helleman has mistakenly supposed.⁷²² The best way to understand the purpose of Calvin's use of *concessio* is to look at his own usage. Fortunately, this can be found by going back to his commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia* (1532).⁷²³ Calvin was well trained in the art of rhetoric. His commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia* clearly demonstrates this knowledge. Ford Lewis Battles writes,

If the general character and structure and style of the *De Clementia* are grasped by Calvin, the rhetorical skill of its author is even more precisely appraised and the whole armory of ancient rhetorical terminology is brought to bear upon the *De Clementia*.⁷²⁴

Battles distinguishes two categories in his study of Calvin's work: argument and ornament. He also points out that Calvin's early knowledge of rhetorical figures is attested by his application of some fifty terms to his commentary on *De Clementia*. *Concessio* is among one of them and certainly falls within the category of argument.⁷²⁵ Although, as Battles points out, 'there is in Calvin's first treatise, as in his later writings a distaste for rhetoric for its own sake or for illegitimate purpose,'⁷²⁶ in his polemics against the Roman church he frequently employed his early knowledge of rhetoric skill.⁷²⁷ To be sure, this was done in a far more

began with Calvin's use of the Galatians text in the 1543 *Institutio* in his criticism of papal primacy. The importance of the 1543 *Institutio* for all his subsequent anti-Rome polemics can never be underestimated.

⁷²² Helleman 1992: 367-78.

⁷²³ CO 5: 1-162. The text is also translated into English with the Latin text included in Calvin 1969.

⁷²⁴ Calvin 1969: 76. Calvin (1969: 81) also points out that Calvin's grounding in the rhetorical tradition has three chief sources, all Latin: (1) Cicero, (2) Quintilian, (3) Rutilius Lupus, Romanus Aquila, and Julius Rufinianus.

⁷²⁵ See the table listed in Calvin (1969: 80-81).

⁷²⁶ Calvin (1969: 76, n. 1).

⁷²⁷ Calvin used this rhetoric of *concessio* first in his reply to Sadoletto. See CO 5: 404. *Institutio* (1543): 183, 192, 204, 215, 216. The most important passage is in *Institutio* (1543): 206, to which we will turn later. From the 1543 *Institutio* onwards he used this device many times again. He used it once in his critique of the Faculty of Theology of Paris. See CO 7: 39. His commentaries abound with this *concessio* device. Cf. CTS *Comm.* Mt. 10: 1-8; Mt. 16: 19; Mt. 21: 42; Ps 44: 19; Preface to Malachi.

controlled manner than Luther, since Calvin never forgot that his rhetoric was 'the handmaid or servant of the truth.'⁷²⁸

One passage in Calvin's Commentary on *De Clementia* of Seneca shows how he understood the use of *concessio*:

By way of concession he proceeds step by step until he arrives at that which is the most important (or the most grievous⁷²⁹), so that he brings about more indignation.⁷³⁰

With this explanation, it is clear that for Calvin the use of *concessio* should not be understood as a kind of conditional argument. It was Calvin's practice to employ successive use of *concessio* in order to build up his arguments one after another for the purpose of refuting his opponents' arguments. For him, to concede one point in the course of his discourse was not to give a conditional offer. To 'concede' at one level was to bring about even stronger argument at the next level.⁷³¹ Its effect is to bring about, so to speak, more hatred or rejection at a higher level, until it reaches a point where maximum indignation against his opponents' position is fully expressed.⁷³² This is in fact what is found in the text of 1543 *Institutio*.⁷³³ The

⁷²⁸ Wright 1998: 66. On concluding his essay on the nature of Calvin's rhetoric, Wright (1998: 69) emphatically writes, 'My judgment is that he (Calvin) was so acutely sensitive to the biblical style of plain simplicity and to the implications he drew from it that we should be very surprised to detect him, as we may from time to time, getting so carried away in flights of rhetoric as to lose sight of coherence and truth.'

⁷²⁹ DEL 159.

⁷³⁰ Calvin (1969: 131. 15): 'Per modum concessionis gradatim procedit, donec ad id quod est maximum perveniat, quo maiorem faciat invidiam.' The French translation in Millet (1992: 81) reads, 'Il procède pas à pas par manière de concession, jusqu'à ce qu'il arrive à ce qui est le plus important, pour susciter une plus grande indignation.' The English translation in Calvin (1969: 319) reads: 'By way of concession he proceeds step by step until he arrives at that which is the greatest of all, thus increasing the indignation of the reader.' Note that Millet (1992: 81) also identifies *concessio* as one of the 'l'habileté rhétorique (*artificii rhetorici*)' in Calvin's commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia*.

⁷³¹ Millet (1992: 108) mentions in passing that Calvin's concession is 'inspirée de Sénèque.' Clearly, its purpose is to persuade, to raise the force of his argument, not to concede. The example in Millet (1992: 596) makes this clear: 'On comprend la place qu'occupe dans une pareille conception la raison conçue comme simple bon sens. En voici un exemple, suffisant pour éclairer notre propos. Au sujet de la question cruciale de la justification par la seule foi (à l'exclusion des oeuvres de la charité), Calvin répond à l'argument scripturaire suivant, tiré de saint Paul (I Co. 13, 13), que lui objectent les théologiens catholiques: "Maintenant ces trois demeurent, Foy, Esperance, Charité; mais charité est la plus grande". Après avoir établi le sens du verset paulinien à partir de son contexte de façon à lui ôter toute portée proprement doctrinale pour n'y voir qu'une exhortation (" (...) la dilection de Dieu, de laquelle S. Paul ne touche point icy. Car il ne tend à aultre fin, sinon qu'on s'édifie en Dieu mutuellement"), Calvin fait une concession ("*posons le cas que Charité soit plus excellente que Foy en toutes manières*"), pour en venir à son but: ...' (italics mine). The example in Millet (1992: 741) gives an example of Calvin's 'fausse concession'—that is, it is unreal.

⁷³² Calvin's successive use of *concessio* here also serves very well to illustrate what Higman calls 'linearity in Calvin's thought.' Linearity is an intellectual weapon for use in the battle of argument whereby Calvin set out 'to expound and follow through the subject distinctly, bringing out one point after another in a clear order.' Higman 1991: 106-7.

following three concessions followed one another, although they have not reached their climax—we shall discuss the climactic point in due course.⁷³⁴

4.3.5.1. The First *Concessio*

The first *concessio* concerns Peter's dignity among the twelve Apostles. Calvin conceded that Peter was indeed the prince of Apostles (*Apostolorum princeps*) and excelled the rest in dignity (*dignitas*).⁷³⁵ Then, he immediately made the point that a singular example could not be made a universal rule and far less could it be made a universal rule that extended perpetually to later generations.⁷³⁶ Unlike his Roman Catholic opponents, who argued that since Peter was the *princeps* of the Apostles, then he was the *princeps* of the church, Calvin, in the dress of a humanist lawyer, argued that although one man was set over twelve men, it did not follow that he ought to be set over a hundred thousand men. Thus the purpose of Calvin's *concessio* regarding the dignity of Peter among the Apostles only served to expose the illogical and illegitimate inference of his Roman Catholic opponents.

It should be underlined that Calvin phrased Peter's primacy of honour very carefully. He did not say that Christ gave this primacy to Peter, which according to Calvin could not be borne out by the Petrine texts and his discussion of Peter in the New Testament, but only that 'the Apostles yielded such primacy to Peter.'⁷³⁷ The Apostles did this only because they were few in numbers and because nature demanded this arrangement. For the latter, Calvin added:

For nature bears this, man's natural disposition requires it, that in any assembly, even though all are equal in power, one should be the moderator, as it were, to whom the others look. There is no Senate without a consul, no assembly of judges without a praetor or prosecutor, no board without a chairman, no association without a president.⁷³⁸

⁷³³ Fischer (1985: 21) also has noted Calvin's *concessio*: 'A partir de là, Calvin procède, selon son habitude, par concessions successives, entraînant son adversaire à le suivre dans sa retraite apparente, jusqu'au point névralgique qui conditionne tous les autres et où il devra succomber, sans possibilité de se dérober. Voici les étapes de ce processus, telles que nous les livre l'Institution.' Fischer also has remarked in passing that Calvin's concessions are hypothetical concessions.

⁷³⁴ We have abundant evidences of Calvin's use of *concessio* reaching a climactic point as a device in his criticism of papal primacy. Cf. CTS *Comm.* Matt. 16: 13-19.

⁷³⁵ Again, here Calvin follows Luther's distinction between primacy of power and primacy of honour. Luther had written in *Resolutio super propositione XIII*: 'Quin hic signa: Duplex est primatus, honoris et potestatis. Quod Petrus primus fuit in ordine, nemo negat. ... Ita Petrum fateremur principem apostolorum, primum ecclesiae membrum, caput collegii apostolici ... Alter autem primatus, potestatis, nunquam fuit Petro datus ...' (WA 2: 209)

⁷³⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 192.

⁷³⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 192: 'Sic nihil absurdi esset si fateremur Apostolos detulisse Petro talem primatum.'

⁷³⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 192. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.8.

But if human nature demands leadership in all group activities, why is it that a person is not also required to rule the whole earth? Calvin had anticipated this question and his answer went in two directions. First, he appealed to the argument of ability. He said,

But what prevails among the few is not to be applied immediately to the whole earth, *over which no one person is capable to rule* (italics mine).⁷³⁹

Here, human disposition is met with its limitation. Calvin did not believe that a person was capable to rule the whole church.

Secondly, Calvin also pointed out the irrationality of his opponents' demand.⁷⁴⁰ The Roman Catholic opponents used the example of cranes and bees. These creatures always chose one leader among themselves. In the same way, the Roman Catholic opponents demanded that there should be one supreme head (*unum summum caput*) over the whole church. Calvin, on the other hand, while accepting these examples, retorted by asking sarcastically:

But do the bees come together from the whole world to elect one king?⁷⁴¹

The truth was, Calvin continued,

Every king is content with its own hive. So among cranes each flock has its own king.⁷⁴²

As it turns out, the examples of bees and cranes only served to show that individual churches ought to have their own bishop (*episcopos*). Again, the argument for the need of a supreme head over the whole church by the analogy of nature was refuted.

The purpose in the first *concessio* is clear. Calvin's concession regarding Peter's dignity among the Apostles only leads to his rejection of Peter's superiority over the whole church.

4.3.5.2. The Second Concessio

The second concession was not about Peter but political monarchy. This one, however, demonstrates very well Calvin's unique argument against papal authority at this point. Strictly speaking, this concession is clearly an unreal supposition. The Roman Catholics used political examples to support the primacy of the pope in the

⁷³⁹ Calvin, *Institutio* (1543): 192. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.8. Calvin continued to use this argument elsewhere. See Calvin's letter to the King of Poland (Dec 1554) in *LJC* 3: 104.

⁷⁴⁰ For several of his opponents' fallacies exposed by Calvin, see Ayers 1980: 283-297, esp. 289-90.

⁷⁴¹ *Institutio* (1543): 192: 'sed an ex toto orbe confluent apes ut regem unum eligant?' The answer is obviously negative as the Latin conjunction *an* indicates. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.8.

⁷⁴² *Institutio* (1543): 192.

church when they quote, for example, Homer's saying: 'The rule of many is not good.' With sharp discernment, Calvin's reply was that Homer's saying had nothing to do with one king ruling the whole world but that a kingdom could not have two kings. Yet, even if he would concede to a single world-wide political monarchy, he would by no means concede to a papal monarchy with the pope ruling the whole church on earth.⁷⁴³

Calvin's reason for rejecting universal papal monarchy at this point deserves attention here. He borrowed extensively from his reading of Paul's Letter to the Ephesians. He rejected the Roman Catholic reasoning that the church would be left without a head if the pope were not set over the universal church. This position is of utmost significance for understanding Calvin's rejection of the pope as head. The reason for this unbending attitude was based on Calvin's strict rule for church polity:

For she (the Church) has Christ as her sole Head, under whose *principatus* all of us cleave to one another, according to that order and that form of polity which he has prescribed.⁷⁴⁴

Two remarks should be made here. First, the word *principatus* should be taken seriously. This word is used only three times in chapter 8 of the 1543 *Institutio*.⁷⁴⁵ The first occurrence was used for Christ by Calvin here. The second is used in the papacy's claim for Peter and the pope.

Peter, they say, had *principatus* among the apostles; therefore, the church in which he had his see ought to have it as a privilege.⁷⁴⁶

To be sure, Calvin resolutely rejected this latter claim. One can readily see the reason for this because this word reveals a lot about the claims of the medieval papacy that persisted to Calvin's time. In this connection, Walter Ullmann's study illuminates this point. Writing of the medieval papacy, Ullmann remarks:

The sum total of jurisdictional powers entrusted to St. Peter was conceived as a *principatus*. Consequently, the Pope too had the *principatus*. The Innocentian "auctoritas" appeared now in the Leonine *principatus*. Because the Pope occupies the "apostolica sedes" he inherits St. Peter's *principatus*. *The term is the political expression of the jurisdictional primacy of the Roman Church within the Christian corpus*, the "mundus". Nevertheless, whilst Leo I was so anxious to establish the *principatus*, there is every indication that his contemporary emperors sensed the

⁷⁴³ *Institutio* (1543): 193.

⁷⁴⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 193: 'Habet enim illa Christum unicum suum caput, sub cuius principatu omnes inter nos cohaeremus, secundum eum ordinem et eam politiae formam quam ipse praescipit.' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.9.

⁷⁴⁵ It is worth noting that the word *principatus* occurs five times in the 1539 *Institutio* but not in a polemical context against the papacy. The word now occurs three times in chapter 8 in the 1543 *Institutio* all of which were given in a polemical context against papal primacy.

⁷⁴⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 194. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.12.

inherent danger that lay in the idea enshrined in the term *principatus*. The papal anxiety to apply the *principatus* to the "apostolica sedes" was paralleled by the imperial anxiety to withhold this meaningful designation from the Roman Church⁷⁴⁷ (English italics mine).

Thus, this *principatus* was what the medieval papacy had been fighting for and refused to give up. This can be confirmed by its third occurrence in an earlier context where Calvin wrote that the Holy Spirit warned men of dreaming of '*principatus aut dominatio*' when conducting the government of the church.⁷⁴⁸ Clearly, Calvin was denying this supreme power to the pope. If anything, he reserved it only to Christ, though in a spiritual but not political sense.

Secondly, it naturally follows that if the pope was set up as the head of the church on the pretext that the church could not be without a head, this was doing signal insult to Christ. For Christ is the Head. Relying on Ephesians 4: 15-16,⁷⁴⁹ Calvin made the following observations: (1) Christ put all mortals without exception in the body, but left the honor and name of the Head to himself alone.⁷⁵⁰ By implication, even the pope belonged to this body. Accordingly, he was never assigned to be the head of the body. (2) If the pope were set as the head of the church, this would not be the measure of grace assigned by Christ since his position would have far exceeded the limited function set by Christ. Only Christ has that supreme power of governing in the church.⁷⁵¹ These are indeed ingenious observations made by Calvin on the text of Ephesians. In Calvin's treatment, the centrality of the Petrine texts as claimed by the Roman Catholics in favour of papal primacy had faded into the background. The importance and implications of the Pauline text for the government of the church emerged under an illuminating spotlight to warrant a refutation of papal primacy.

One relevant question remains. If Christ alone is the Head of the church and therefore no one should claim the title of headship in place of Christ, could it be allowed that a 'ministerial head' (*caput ministeriale*) be installed in the church in order to be Christ's 'vicegerent' (*vices*) on earth? This appeared to be a useful

⁷⁴⁷ Ullmann 1955: 9. Cf. Markus 1983b: 356.

⁷⁴⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 175.

⁷⁴⁹ *Institutio* (1543): 193. Again, Calvin's use and interpretation of Ephesians 4: 15-6 reflects his reaction to the Article XIX of the *Regensburg Book* in which the same Ephesian text was used to support the primacy of the pope.

⁷⁵⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 193.

⁷⁵¹ *Institutio* (1543): 193. One can see the importance of Paul's Letter to the Ephesians for Calvin in his arguments against the primacy of the pope. On the groundwork laid down in the 1543 *Institutio*, Calvin further developed his critique based on the same text in both his commentary to the Ephesians and sermon on the same letter. See CTS *Comm.* Eph. 4: 11: 'There is no passage of Scripture by which that tyrannical hierarchy, regulated by one earthly head, is more completely overturned.' Cf. JCSE Sermon 25 (Eph. 4: 11-12): 370-3.

proposal. Calvin had anticipated this demand and his reply deserves our attention as well. His reply, however, was uncompromising:

Certainly, they accomplish nothing by this quibble unless they first show that this ministry was ordained by Christ.⁷⁵²

For Calvin, the Petrine texts, the picture of Peter in the New Testament, as well as the Pauline text did not support such a proposal. Thus he confidently said,

Yet this is nowhere read, but can be abundantly refuted from many passages.⁷⁵³

Again, he substantiated his point by Paul's description of the church in the Letter to the Ephesians. First, in Paul's depiction of the living image of the church there was no mention of one human head. This implied that a ministerial head was 'foreign to Christ's institution.'⁷⁵⁴ Secondly, that Christ ascended in a way so as to fill all things (Ephesians 4: 10) meant that the church 'still has, and always will have (Christ) himself present.'⁷⁵⁵ The invisible Christ who was present in the church did not need a visible vicegerent.⁷⁵⁶ Thirdly, Christ now manifested to us 'by the ministry of men, whom he put in charge the governing of the church.'⁷⁵⁷ This ministry of men is depicted in Ephesians 4: 11: 'he appointed some to be apostles, ... others pastors, others evangelists, still others teachers, etc.'⁷⁵⁸ Again, in this enumeration, there was no mention of a ministerial head.⁷⁵⁹

But, fourthly, if a ministerial head was not mentioned in Christ's ordination, should this office be instituted for the sake of preserving unity in the church?⁷⁶⁰ This appears to be another sound proposal. In Calvin's reply, however, he presented Paul's method of attaining unity:

⁷⁵² *Institutio* (1543): 193: 'Verum hoc cavillo nihil proficiunt, nisi prius ostenderint hoc ministerium a Christo esse ordinatum.' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.9.

⁷⁵³ *Institutio* (1543): 193: 'Atqui non modo id nusquam legitur, sed refelli abunde ex multis locis potest.' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.9.

⁷⁵⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 193: '... a Christi institutione id esse alienum.' Cf. Evans 1992: 232.

⁷⁵⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 193: '... ipsum adhuc praesentem habet Ecclesia, et semper habitura est.'

⁷⁵⁶ One can see clearly Calvin had further developed his use of the Ephesian text since his first use of it in 1540 during the deliberations of theologians at Worms.

⁷⁵⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 193.

⁷⁵⁸ For Calvin's discussion of these offices, see *Institutio* (1543): 168(b)-9. Note that here I quote the page number as '168 (b)' because in the edition I use, this page duplicated the page number of the previous page. It is of interest to note that in the *Defensio adversus Pighium* Calvin called Luther 'a distinguished apostle of Christ by whose ministry the light of the gospel has shone' (*CO* 6: 250).

⁷⁵⁹ It is evident from Calvin's letter to the King of Poland in December 1554 that it was his deliberate purpose to reject the primacy of the pope in the 1543 *Institutio*, and the passage of Ephesians 4 was one powerful weapon. See *LJC* 3: 102.

⁷⁶⁰ Again this formulation of the role of the pope to preserve the unity of the church is a clear reflection of the discussion of the primacy of the pope during the Colloquy of Regensburg to which Calvin was responding again and again in the *Institutio* of 1543.

(1) Unity according to Paul in Ephesians is in God and in Christ.

(2) In Paul's commendation of unity, he mentioned only 'one body, one Spirit, ... one hope of calling, one God, one faith, one baptism.' If one supreme pontiff were crucial to the unity of the church, it was curious that Paul did not mention it at all. In Paul's description of the sacred and spiritual government of the church he 'not only lays down no monarchy among the ministers but also points out that there is none.'⁷⁶¹

(3) Finally, the manner of unity was demonstrated by believers cleaving to Christ as Head. In all connections and functions performed by each member there was no room for a ministerial head.⁷⁶² A ministerial head set up for the preservation of church unity is prohibited in Calvin's exposition.

To conclude, Calvin's concession regarding a universal political monarchy only led to a rejection of a ministerial head which was claimed to be able to help preserving the unity of the church. This may sound highly unecumenical, but such an intransigent position must have a deeper cause. We will probe into this cause in due course.

4.3.5.3. *The Third Concessio*

Paradoxically, again it was in making his third concession that one can see that Calvin's rejection of papal primacy had moved to a higher level, this time hitting the backyard of the pope, which is Rome. We do well to quote this passage here:

Now, even if I should concede generously to them another point which they never will obtain among sensible men, that the primacy of the church was so established in Peter that it should always abide in perpetual succession, still, how will they prove that his see was so established *at Rome* that whoever may be bishop of that city should preside over the whole world? By what right do they *bind to a place* this dignity which has been given without mention of place?⁷⁶³ (Italics mine.)

As expressed by Calvin here, the concession regarding the primacy of Peter and Petrine succession is unmistakably a hypothetical one. In granting this concession, Calvin's purpose at this stage has moved to a rejection of the primacy of the *Roman* see. Hitherto, Calvin had rejected first the primacy of Peter, and then the primacy of the pope. Historically and institutionally, the primacy of the pope was the same as

⁷⁶¹ *Institutio* (1543): 193: '... non dubium quin repraesentare illic penitus voluerit sacrum et spirituale Ecclesiae regimen, quod posteri hierarchiam dixerunt. Monarchiam inter ministros non modo nullam ponit, sed etiam indicat nullam esse.'

⁷⁶² Cf. CTS *Comm.* Eph. 4: 11; JCSE Sermon 25 (Eph. 4: 11-12): 372.

⁷⁶³ *Institutio* (1543): 193-4: 'Iam ut alterum illis largiar, quod nunquam apud sanos homines obtinebunt, sic constitutum in Petro Ecclesiae primatum, ut perpetua successione semper maneat: unde tamen evincant, sedem Romae ita collocatam, ut quicumque sit urbis illius Episcopus, orbi universo praesideat? Quo iure hanc loco dignitatem alligant, quae sine loci mentione data est?' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.11.

the primacy of the Roman see. But Calvin in his step by step criticism had made a subtle distinction between them. When he was dealing with the primacy of the pope, his target was rejecting the pope as the head of the whole church. Now he moved a step further and dealt with the primacy of the *Roman* see. He did this by hypothetically granting a concession of the primacy of Peter and Petrine succession, but then went on to reject that primacy and succession *at Rome*. In other words, the rejection of the primacy of the Roman see was one advanced step of his criticism.

Calvin first challenged the reasoning of Rome. Rome's reasoning was often a kind of historical argument based on tradition. His Roman Catholic opponents maintained that since Peter dwelt in Rome and died there, therefore the see of Rome obtained the primacy of Peter. Calvin ridiculed this kind of historical thinking. If this reasoning was valid, then, Calvin pressed on, Rome was forced to face the fact that Christ himself dwelt in Jerusalem, exercised his bishopric, and by dying there fulfilled this priestly office. Then, with sharp logic, Calvin said,

The Prince of Shepherds, the Supreme Bishop, the Head of the Church, could not acquire honour for a place—could Peter, far inferior to him, do so?⁷⁶⁴

The effect is that Rome's historical reasoning to establish the dignity of a church could not be in the mind of Peter. Far less was it in the mind of Christ.⁷⁶⁵ Not only was this kind of thinking not valid, it could not be permitted. Reasoning of this kind is more than childish follies (*ineptiae pueriles*). To heighten the sense of absurdity, Calvin added that if this reasoning were valid, then the ancient Israelites ought to have established the *sedes primatus* in the desert, where Moses, the supreme teacher (*summus doctor*) and prince of prophets (*princeps Prophetarum*), had carried out his ministry and died. At one stroke, Calvin seemed to have demolished this historical reasoning on which Roman primacy depended so much. Thus, his hypothetical concession regarding the primacy of Peter and Petrine succession only resulted in ridiculing the historical reasoning of the Roman Catholics to establish the primacy of the Roman see.

Yet Calvin did not stop at ridiculing this kind of historical thinking. He went on considering the relation between the Roman primacy and Peter, and then dealt with the primacy of the Roman papacy in history.

⁷⁶⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 194: 'Princeps pastorum, summus Episcopus, caput Ecclesiae, non potuit honorem loco acquirere: Petrus longe ipso inferior potuit?' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.11.

⁷⁶⁵ In giving an Orthodox reply, Alivisatos (1966: 34) gives a variant version of the argument: 'But Jesus sanctified with his bodily presence Jerusalem and not Rome. And if one already looks for the pre-eminence of a local Church on the basis of the authority of its founder, nobody will deny that Jerusalem has a far greater claim to this pre-eminence than Rome.'

4.3.6. The Primacy of Roman Papacy and Peter

4.3.6.1. *The relation between honour of a church and its founder rejected*

To refute the claim of the primacy of Roman see based on the honour given to Peter, Calvin gave evidence based on the order of dignity among ancient churches. If Rome's primacy was based on Peter's presence in the city, then Antioch should have retained its second place in dignity since Peter had presided there before he moved to Rome.⁷⁶⁶ But the historical fact was that Alexandria, being the church of a mere disciple, took precedence over Antioch. This demonstrated indirectly that in the ancient church, honour of a church was not based on the dignity of its founder.⁷⁶⁷

Secondly, viewed alternatively, as Peter, James and John were called the pillars of the church,⁷⁶⁸ the second and third place should have been given to the church of Jerusalem⁷⁶⁹ and Ephesus based on their relation to the latter two apostles, if first place was given to the Roman see because of Peter's honour.⁷⁷⁰ Yet both Jerusalem and Ephesus were relegated to relatively lesser positions in the ancient church. At the same time, some churches founded by Paul and presided over by other Apostles were passed over. These facts show that in the ancient church the honour of a church simply did not correspond to the dignity of its founder.⁷⁷¹ Rome's historical reasoning could find no foundation in the churches founded by the Apostles. Yet again, Calvin did not stop at this refutation. His argument went one step further. This time it has to do with Peter in Rome.

4.3.6.2. *Peter and Rome*

To dissolve the link between the primacy of the Roman see and Peter, Calvin cast doubt on Peter's presidency in Rome. This he did by considering historical data and biblical evidence together.

First, he rejected Eusebius' claim that Peter had presided over the church of Rome for twenty-five years,⁷⁷² a claim that had become a tradition for the foundation

⁷⁶⁶ Writing to the bishops of Antioch, Pope Marcellus (308-9) mentioned that the see of Peter was originally in Antioch but at the Lord's command was transferred to Rome. Hinschius 1863: 223.

⁷⁶⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 194.

⁷⁶⁸ Cf. *Galatians* 2: 9

⁷⁶⁹ Cf. Pelikan 1959: 35.

⁷⁷⁰ For the relation of James to the Jerusalem church, see *ACTS* 12: 17; 15: 13; 21: 18; *Galatians* 1: 19.

⁷⁷¹ *Institutio* (1543): 194: 'Aut praeposterum illum ordinem fateantur fuisse: aut nobis concedant, non esse hoc perpetuum, ut cuique Ecclesiae debeatur honoris gradus quem quisque fundator habuit.'

⁷⁷² Backus 1991: 417-437.

for Petrine succession of the Roman see. Calvin's argument was based on the calculation that according to the first two chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians, Peter had been in Jerusalem for twenty years after the death of Christ before he came to Antioch. Moreover, it was uncertain how long Peter stayed in Antioch. If he stayed long in Antioch, then Peter must have remained in Rome for only a short time. The reason was that the time span between the death of Christ and the end of Nero's reign when Peter was martyred totalled only thirty-seven years. If one took away twenty years during which Peter stayed in Jerusalem, then Peter's stay in Antioch and Rome amounted to only seventeen years. If he remained in Antioch for a long time, then his stay in Rome could not be long. The claim that Peter had stayed in Rome as a bishop for twenty-five years was unfounded.

Secondly, as the letter to the Romans was written four years before Paul came to Rome, this indicated that at the point of writing the letter Peter was not yet in Rome. It was because Paul did not mention Peter in this letter. It was impossible for Paul not to have mentioned Peter if the latter was indeed ruling in the church of Rome. In addition, Peter's absence was confirmed when his name was also absent from the long list of Paul's final greetings in the same letter.

The end of Acts also provided Calvin with another piece of evidence. In Luke's account, when Paul was brought to Rome as a prisoner, there was again no mention of Peter among the brothers who received Paul in Rome.

Other evidences also proved the absence of Peter. When from Rome Paul sent out many letters, there was also no mention of Peter.⁷⁷³ Calvin asked,

Is it credible, I ask, that he (Paul) could have remained silent, if he (Peter) had been there?⁷⁷⁴

Moreover, when Paul was writing from Rome the letter to the Philippians, he complained that he could find no one serving the Lord at that time as faithfully as Timothy did since everyone was seeking his own interests. This also served to prove that Peter was not in Rome at that time, otherwise he would have mentioned Peter, assuming that Peter should be as faithful to the cause of Christ. Again, a more serious complaint could be found in Paul's letter to Timothy when he said that no one came to his help in his first defence. Calvin asked,

Where, therefore, was Peter at that time? For if they say he was at Rome, with what great disgrace does Paul inflict him, that he was a deserter of the gospel?⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷³ To this day, Eastern Orthodox writers hold similar views about Peter as Calvin did. Cf. Koulomzine 1963: 122-23.

⁷⁷⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 195. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.15.

⁷⁷⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 195. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.15.

Calvin's last argument returned again to the letter to the Galatians, in which Paul testified that Peter's apostolate pertained especially to the Jews while Paul's apostolate pertained to the Gentiles.⁷⁷⁶ According to this arrangement, Calvin rhetorically pointed out that this ordination of the Holy Spirit should be held firm today, which meant that if Peter's apostolate was succeeded by the bishop of Rome, then the pope's apostolate should pertain to the Jews, again another irony in itself. Consequently, Paul's apostolate deserved more attention than Peter's.⁷⁷⁷ One can imagine the kind of ridicule this argument could raise. But Calvin's point was that the Romanists could find no support for primacy from the Word of God. The conclusion is clear.

Now, therefore, let the Romanists seek their primacy elsewhere than in God's Word, where it finds no foundation at all!⁷⁷⁸

It should be remarked that Calvin used these scriptural texts⁷⁷⁹ only to disprove Peter's long residence at Rome.⁷⁸⁰ He did not mean to reject the tradition that Peter died in Rome.⁷⁸¹ What Calvin did was to contradict the tradition that Peter

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. Lapham (2003: 147): 'The clear inference of Galatians (2.7-8) is that Peter was working among the Jews and Jewish-Christians of this region.'

⁷⁷⁷ Again, one can see that Calvin's discussion of this text of Galatians in the 1543 *Institutio* affects his later Commentary on Galatians (1548) and his Sermons on the same epistles. This is another way of saying that, from his criticism of the papacy in his 1543 *Institutio* onwards, Calvin was never tired of subjecting the claims of primacy to criticism and even total rejection. Thus preaching on Gal. 2: 6-10, Calvin said, 'With this in mind, let us consider the *degree of primacy* the Pope claims to have today, based on the fact that Peter (according to him) was the Bishop of Rome. It is clear that to say Peter was at Rome and that he became its bishop is sheer myth; it is another of their fanciful teachings. But if we take the case as it really was, then, according to what we have been saying, Peter was specially called to serve the Jews. Therefore, *the Pope, who claims to be Peter's successor, ought to be the Bishop of the Jews and his primacy ought to begin and end there*. As for Paul, it is most certain that he was not Bishop of Rome, for he never went there, except when he was taken there as a prisoner; we do not know whether he stayed there or not but it is probable that this is where he died. Thus, the Pope cannot boast that he is Paul's successor either. Yet, what a *position of dignity and honour* the city of Rome could have, claiming, as she does, that the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ were there—that is, if it were not such a *den of thieves* and if it were not there that the servants of God were killed! Therefore, take special note of this passage and of the fact that it tells us that Peter was appointed apostle to the Jews, and that Paul was sent to the Gentiles; for this teaching directly challenges us and we ought to be the more encouraged to apply it to our profit' (italics mine). Cf. CTS *Comm.* Gal. 2: 7.

⁷⁷⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 195: 'Nunc itaque suum primatum alibi quaerant Romanenses quam in verbo Dei, ubi minime fundatus invenitur.' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.15.

⁷⁷⁹ It must be admitted that these are employed as *argumentum e silentio*.

⁷⁸⁰ It should be noted that these scriptural arguments put forward here to dispute Peter's residence at Rome at that particular time remain a burden for Catholic writers to answer today. Cf. Guarducci 1960: 25-6.

⁷⁸¹ Surprisingly, the latest study by Lapham (2003: 248) gives the conclusion that Peter probably did 'not [die] in Rome, nor as late as the reign of Nero.' 'The silence of other early traditions—and, indeed, of the Acts, subsequent to Peter's brief appearance at the Apostolic Conference—would indicate, rather, that he died at some location within his missionary area, and vanished without trace.'

had governed the church in Rome for twenty-five years. From Paul's letters and the report of the Acts, Calvin was convinced that Peter was not a bishop at Rome and did not reside in Rome for a long time.

One may wonder why Calvin accepted the tradition that Peter died in Rome but rejected that he had been a bishop for twenty-five years there. The answer lies in Calvin's rather discerning reading of the ancient writers. On the one hand, the ancient writers agreed that Peter died in Rome. With this consensus, Calvin agreed. On the other hand, these writers did not agree on how long Peter's episcopate had been in Rome and who exactly did succeed him.⁷⁸² The 'absurd tales' surrounding Peter's episcopate also led Calvin to cast doubt on the truth of Peter's episcopate as suggested by these writers.⁷⁸³ Thus Calvin was convinced that Peter was not a bishop, 'especially for a long time.'⁷⁸⁴

At this point, it is significant to say a few words regarding the source of Calvin's arguments presented in this section. Calvin himself saw these arguments as another critical stage for refuting the primacy of the Roman see. These arguments, however, were not uniquely his own, though certainly they did not originate from among the other magisterial reformers. Significantly, all the arguments raised here could be traced back to Ulrichus Velenus' *Petrum Romam non venisse*, published in 24 November 1520 by the printer Sylvan Otmar of Augsburg.⁷⁸⁵ This clearly indicates that Calvin was using Velenus's argument against the primacy of the Roman see.⁷⁸⁶ In this connection Calvin's use of Velenus's work may allow us to see a parallel intention between the latter and Calvin himself. Velenus saw his work as a final blow to expel the Antichrist, described by him as 'this three-headed Cerberus from the underworld, who wears the triple crown as a symbol.'⁷⁸⁷ Velenus believed

⁷⁸² *Institutio* (1543): 195: 'At constans est scriptorum opinio, usque ad mortem Ecclesiam illam gubernasse. At inter ipsos scriptores non constat quis fuerit successor: quia alii Linum, alii Clementem faciunt.' Cf. *AH* 3.3.1-4; *HE* 3.2.; 3.4; 3.13; 5.5; .22.3; *Ep. Clem.* 1-3,19. For a study of the two incompatible traditions regarding Peter's successor, see MacMullen 1966: 98-107; Ullmann 1960b: 295-317. For a clarification of the context and polemic intention of Irenaeus's succession list, see von Campenhausen 1997: 168-73. Cf. also Jalland 1941: 74-7; Perkins 2000: 171-6. See esp. Lapham (2003: 93-8).

⁷⁸³ Calvin even used Augustine to disprove the opinion that Peter had a disputation with Simon Magus. *Institutio* (1543): 195.

⁷⁸⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 195.

⁷⁸⁵ See Lamping 1976: 1. Velenus' treatise aroused so much interest that in a short period of time it underwent several reprints and new editions. Here I am using the Sylvan Otmar's edition (Augsburg, 1520) included in Lamping (1976: 219-76). I shall follow the original Latin page number in the following quotes.

⁷⁸⁶ Cf. Lamping (1976: 164): 'It is clear that, although he does not mention the author's name, Calvin makes use of Velenský arguments and, what is more, that he follows the order of the *Petrum Roman non venisse* (and sometimes even uses the same words).' I have searched through Velenus' treatise to confirm this.

⁷⁸⁷ Velenus 1520: Aiii.

that the Antichrist, whom he referred to as 'this beast,' had two of his heads cut off by Lorenzo Valla (who had exposed the so-called Donation of Constantine) and Luther. But since he claimed himself to be the successor of Peter (*successor Petri*), this Antichrist still had its third head held high. Velenus was convinced that by proving according to the 'true meaning'⁷⁸⁸ of Sacred Scripture that Peter had never come to Rome, he could undermine the historical foundation of the primacy of the Roman see and hence ultimately cut off the last head of the Antichrist. In a similar way, Calvin saw that the rejection of the primacy of the Roman see was a critical stage in the refutation of the papacy, and in this connection, to dissolve the relation between Peter and Rome was decisive for this rejection. Seen in this light, Calvin not only took over Velenus's arguments at this point, he was one in intention with Velenus when he presented his arguments. His rejection of the pope as the Antichrist in a later context only demonstrated this all the more clearly.

But one distinction should be observed. While Velenus denied that Peter ever came to Rome, Calvin differed from him in accepting that Peter died in Rome. Calvin was satisfied with casting doubt on Peter's being a bishop in Rome. Again, he was like a lawyer, not just a theologian, who, when he found a piece of evidence in doubt, rejected that evidence as unreliable to establish a case. In the case of Peter's episcopate in Rome, when this doubt was established, the link between Peter and the Petrine succession of the Roman see was broken.⁷⁸⁹ In this way, by using Lamping's words, 'the illegality of the primacy of Rome as the *successio* of the episcopate of Peter was demonstrated.' This, Calvin was convinced, was a fatal blow to the primacy of the Roman see.

4.3.7. Refutation of Primacy of the Roman See in the Ancient Church

Yet Calvin went beyond Velenus when he went on to refute the claim to antiquity of the Roman primacy. He expressly explained why he included this refutation in his critique of the papacy. The Roman Catholic opponents not only claimed that the Lord gave the primacy to Peter and then by right of succession to the Roman see, they also declared that this practice had always been observed from the very beginning of the church.⁷⁹⁰ For Calvin, to complete his rejection of the papal primacy it was necessary to examine the facts about the reality of the primacy of the

⁷⁸⁸ 'Germanum intellectum.' Velenus 1520: Aiv.

⁷⁸⁹ Cf. Von Campenhausen 1997: 27.

⁷⁹⁰ This is part of Eck's argument during the Leipzig disputation. Eck said, '... So beginning with the early church, there is a long train of good Christians who have always confessed that the primacy of the Roman church came from Christ, not from human law and popular consent.' Ziegler 1969: 15.

Roman see in the ancient church.⁷⁹¹ One can see the rigorousness as well as the thoroughness of Calvin in his rejection of this primacy.⁷⁹²

It should be noted that before refuting the claim to antiquity of the primacy of the Roman see, Calvin recapitulated to the reader his original purpose in rejecting papal primacy in the writing of the 1543 *Institutio*. This purpose was to reject the Roman Catholic axiom (*axioma*) that

the unity of the church cannot be maintained unless there is one supreme head on earth to whom all members yield their obedience.⁷⁹³

One can see that Calvin, in falsifying the claim to the antiquity of the primacy of the Roman see, never drifted away from his original purpose to refute this axiom.

In the following we shall proceed to outline his arguments on this point. In this way we can acquire a fuller picture of Calvin's attitude to the papacy in the 1543 *Institutio*.

4.3.7.1. The Honour of the Church of Rome in the Ancient Church

Calvin first set out to describe why the Roman church was given great honour by ancient writers. In this he showed that he did maintain a balanced understanding of the honour of the Roman church in the ancient church. He gave three reasons for this high honour: (1) The opinion that the church of Rome was founded and established by the ministry of Peter. (2) Rome was the capital city of the empire and the people in Rome,⁷⁹⁴ and it was believed that the church there was probably more excellent in doctrine, prudence, skill, and breadth of experience, than in any other place. (3) Unlike the tumultuous churches in the East, Greece, and even Africa,

⁷⁹¹ As early as 1518 Luther had called in question the early origin of the Roman primacy in his Explanations of the 95 Theses. See *LW* 31: 81-252.

⁷⁹² Historical arguments became important tools for the reformers of the sixteenth century against the papacy. See Polman 1932: 541. Orthodox scholars knew the importance of this subject as well. See Afanassieff 1963: 57. In reviewing the claims of the papacy Küng (1995: 308-323) inevitably had to deal with this subject as well. Sullivan (2001: 221-2), professor emeritus of the faculty of theology at the Gregorian University in Rome, wrote, 'I have expressed agreement with the consensus of scholars that the available evidence indicates that the church of Rome was led by a college of presbyters, rather than by a single bishop, for at least several decades of the second century.' This is a tacit admission of the fact that there had not yet been a bishop in Rome acting as the immediate successor of the Apostle Peter.

⁷⁹³ *Institutio* (1543): 195: 'Quum itaque suum illud axioma iactant, non aliter contineri Ecclesiae unitatem posse quam si unum sit in terris supremum caput, cui membra omnia pareant: ideoque Dominum Petro, et deinde successionis iure sedi Romanae dedisse primatum, ut in ea usque ad finem resideat: asserunt id fuisse ab initio semper observatum.' Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.16.

⁷⁹⁴ Cf. Canon 28 of Chalcedon, in Percival (ed.) 1900: 287. Meyendorff (1963: 8).

Rome was less troubled by division of opinions. Rome was simply more tenacious of the doctrine once delivered to them.⁷⁹⁵

4.3.7.2. *Papal Primacy and Supreme Power Not Supported by Ancient Writers*

However, despite the great honour accorded to the church of Rome, it did not follow, Calvin maintained, that primacy and supreme power over other churches should be given to her.⁷⁹⁶ Here he drew a sharp distinction between power and honour. Generally, Calvin acknowledged the honour given to the church of Rome as a result of historical realities. But this did not mean that Rome had enjoyed primacy of supreme power in the ancient church. He used two important fathers, Jerome and Cyprian, to support this position.

Jerome indeed related church unity to hierarchy. But this hierarchy referred to the order of each individual church.⁷⁹⁷ The whole point was that every church order depended upon its rulers, and in commending the unity of the church, Jerome, a Roman presbyter,⁷⁹⁸ did not even mention one head that united all churches.⁷⁹⁹

As for the evidence of Cyprian,⁸⁰⁰ Calvin continued his use of *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate*, this time beginning with 'The Episcopate is one ...' (*Episcopatus unus est ...*).⁸⁰¹ It should be noted that in the polemic context between Calvin and

⁷⁹⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 195-6. In giving these three reasons, it should be noted that Calvin did not mean that he agreed completely with them. Note that Calvin worded the first reason very cautiously: 'Opinio enim illa, quae nescio quomodo invaluerat, fundatam et constitutam eam fuisse Petri ministerio, ad conciliandam gratiam et auctoritatem plurimum valebat...' (italics mine).

⁷⁹⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 196: 'Verum quum primatum inde et summam in alias Ecclesias potestatem ei astruere volunt nostri adversarii, nimis perperam ut dixi faciunt. This procedure of first admitting the honour of Rome and then rejecting its primacy was adopted by Küng (1995: 309).

⁷⁹⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 196. Cf. Jerome, Ep. 125, 15 (CSEL 56. 15 sqq; tr. NPNF 2 ser. III. 249).

⁷⁹⁸ Clearly, Calvin deliberately emphasised Jerome as a Roman presbyter to oppose the claims of the Roman church.

⁷⁹⁹ For Jerome, presbyters were really the same as bishops. Only afterwards was one chosen who was placed above the others as a remedy for schism. See Ep. 146 (CSEL 56: 308-12; English translation by Lienhard 1984: 161-62). Note that Jerome's letter had been used by Schnepf during the theologians' deliberations on papal primacy on 18 November 1540. As noted in the context on Schnepf's opinion, Jerome's letter had been published by Luther in 1538 in his pamphlet war against the papacy. Cf. Brecht 1993b: 191. This is another clear connection between Calvin's critique of the papacy and the colloquies of 1540-41. It may even suggest another connection between Calvin's critique with that of Luther.

⁸⁰⁰ For a succinct summary of Cyprian's understanding regarding Peter and the episcopate, see Von Campenhausen 2000: 54-6. Cf. Burns 2002: 157.

⁸⁰¹ *Institutio* (1543): 196: 'Episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur: et Ecclesia una est, quae in multitudine latius incremento foecunditatis extenditur. Quo modo multi radii sunt et lumen unum: et rami arboris multi, robur autem unum, radice tenaci fundatum: et quo modo de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, et numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copiae largitate, unitas tamen servatur integra in origine: sic et Ecclesia Domini luce perfusa per totum orbem radios suos porrigit, unum lumen tamen est, quod ubique diffunditur, nec unitas corporis separatur: ramos suos per universum orbem extendit, perfluentes largitur rivos: unum tamen caput est et una origo.' Deinde,

Rome it was not Calvin but the *Regensburg Book* (Article XIX) that first used this text of Cyprian.⁸⁰² The Cyprian text used in the *Regensburg Book* was well known to Calvin since he also published a translation of Bucer's text in French, the *Actes de la Journée de Regespourg* in 1541.⁸⁰³ Hence there is a strong case to argue that Calvin deliberately chose this Cyprian text because the same text was used in Article XIX in the *Regensburg Book* in the context of giving support to the primacy of the pope.⁸⁰⁴ Read in this light, this constitutes another clue to prove that Calvin's use of this text here reflects clearly that his attempt to refute papal primacy in the 1543 *Institutio* was a reply to the formulation of the primacy of the pope in the *Regensburg Book*. To be sure, in so doing Calvin was giving a different interpretation of Cyprian text.

As Bévenot aptly summarizes, this text shows

a triple comparison of the Church with the sun and its rays, a tree's root and its branches, a spring and its streams—all showing the need of continuity with the *source or starting-point*⁸⁰⁵ (italics mine).

However, the most important point in Calvin's use of Cyprian's text here concerns his interpretation of this source. In his straightforward comment, Calvin wrote that Cyprian attributed this source, that is, this 'universal Episcopate,' to Christ.⁸⁰⁶ If we adopt the 'Primacy' Text (P.T.) version⁸⁰⁷ to be the passage preceding Calvin's quotation, the '*episcopatus*' Cyprian spoke of could refer to Peter, although even in this case Peter's 'one episcopate' was used to ground the unity of the episcopate which he shared with all other legitimate bishops.⁸⁰⁸ But Calvin would not allow this *episcopatus* to be located in Peter. At the same time, he could not allow this one

"Adulterari non potest sponsa Christi: unam domum novit, unius cubiculi sanctitatem casto pudore custodit." *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate*, c. 5. Cf. CSEL 3: 1. 214. Cf. Bévenot 1954: 29-30; Cyprian 1971: 62-5.

⁸⁰² CR 4: 221-2. Zillenbiller (1993: 125)'s study of Calvin's use of this text did not notice this fact. Zillenbiller (1993: 130-1) only pointed out that Calvin had used Cyprian during the Protestant theologians' deliberations in Worms on 18 November 1540. It is also of interest to note that Biel, in his *Defensorium obedientiae apostolicae* (22 October 1462), also used the Cyprian text to ground the unity of the church and defended the primacy and authority of the apostolic see. See Oberman-Zerfoss-Courtenay 1968: 72-3.

⁸⁰³ CO 5: 545-6.

⁸⁰⁴ CR 4: 221.

⁸⁰⁵ Bévenot 1954: 27.

⁸⁰⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 196: 'Vides ut Christi unius Episcopatum universalem faciat, qui totam sub se Ecclesiam capiat: illius partes in solidum ab omnibus teneri dicat qui sub hoc capite Episcopatu funguntur.'

⁸⁰⁷ Bévenot 1954: 26. Cf. also *De Lapsis and De Ecclesiae Catholicae Unitate*, Text and Translation in Cyprian (1971: 62-5). On the various versions of chapter 4 of *De unitate*, see esp. Bévenot 1938.

⁸⁰⁸ This is admitted by Sullivan (2001: 196, 209). Von Balthasar (1986: 164-5) admits that according to Cyprian, when Christ gave the *episcopatus unus* to Peter, he gave it *first* to Peter, and then *later* he entrusted the entirety of this *episcopatus* to the twelve collegially. So Peter's priority is a 'temporal priority.'

episcopatus to remain an abstract concept without any referent. The result was that he located this *episcopatus* in Christ. We do not know how Calvin came up with this interpretation.⁸⁰⁹ He gave the reader the impression that the meaning of Cyprian is quite self-evident, one naturally agreeing to his interpretation. But, strictly speaking, by applying the *episcopatus* explicitly to Christ, this interpretation of the '*Episcopatus unus est*' does not have the support of the context even on the basis of the *Textus Receptus* (T.R.). Yet our task here is not to investigate Calvin's Cyprian text⁸¹⁰ or to determine whether Calvin's interpretation of the text is correct or not.⁸¹¹ It suffices to note that in Calvin's reading of Cyprian he made Christ to be the *episcopatus*, thus grounding the unity of the church in Christ, and, concomitantly, rejected the Roman Catholic *axioma* which made the primacy of the pope the center of unity for the church, as was attempted in the *Regensburg Book*.⁸¹² Thus Calvin wrote,

Where is the primacy of the Roman see, if the whole episcopate resides in Christ's hands alone, and each bishop holds his part of it?⁸¹³

Calvin's conviction is significant for our understanding of his view of the position of the pope in the ancient church. For it means that even in the time of Cyprian (ca. 200/210-258) and Jerome (ca. 347-419/20), the church did not know a primacy that made the pope the center of unity for the church. Under Calvin's historical scrutiny, Rome's attempt to make this primacy the foundation of unity was totally unfounded.⁸¹⁴

⁸⁰⁹ This interpretation of Calvin may be due to the fact that for Cyprian, the unity of the church comes from above, that the church is part of the eternal *unitas* of God. Cf. *De unitate* 7. It should be noted that, though he placed more emphasis on the bishop, Cyprian was also dependent on Tertullian so that the church comes from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ and Christ comes from God. See Davids 1972: 48-9.

⁸¹⁰ For the source of Calvin's Cyprian text, see Zillenbiller (1993: 114) and Zillenbiller (1997: 323).

⁸¹¹ To my knowledge, no one ever questions Calvin's interpretation of Cyprian. Scholars only give a descriptive analysis of Calvin's use of Cyprian. Cf. Schützeichel 1989: 31-2; van Oort 1997: 687. Only Zillenbiller (1997: 327-8) specifically pointed out that to make Christ the universal bishop in Cyprian's text is Calvin's interpretation. Still, Zillenbiller did not go further to question the ground of Calvin's interpretation.

⁸¹² *Institutio* (1543): 196: 'Haec eo pertinent ut obiter intelligat lector, axioma illud quod Romanenses pro confesso et indubio sumunt, de unitate terreni capitis in hierarchia, veteribus fuisse prorsus ignotum.' Cf. the discussion in Bévenot (1938: 65).

⁸¹³ *Institutio* (1543): 196. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.6.17.

⁸¹⁴ Admittedly, Cyprian's concept of episcopacy did influence the concept of Petrine succession of the Roman church, contributing to making the succession of the (true) church dependent on the succession of the papal office. Cf. Wiles 1963: 139-49, esp. 143-4; Afanassieff 1963: 64-5. Cf. also Daly (1993: 18-37) on Cyprian's view of the bishop as the center of unity in the church.

4.3.8. Origin and Growth of the Primacy of the Roman See

Calvin did not stop at exposing the lack of evidence for papal primacy in the ancient church. He proceeded to examine how the pope's primacy grew to such a height of power in Calvin's time. The significance of this analysis cannot be ignored, for this is part of Calvin's effort to completely undermine the historical foundation of the primacy of the Roman see.⁸¹⁵

4.3.8.1. Position of Rome According to Ancient Councils

First, Calvin approached the origin and growth of the primacy of the Roman see through ancient councils. His method was to observe the position which the Roman bishop or his delegates occupied. This reflects the fact that in the councils of the ancient church, the bishop of Rome was not appointed the head of all churches. According to Calvin, the recognition of the bishop of Rome's status was found in the Council of Nicea when the Roman bishop was assigned the first place (*primus locus*) among the patriarchs.⁸¹⁶ At first sight this seems to confirm the bishop of Rome's primacy status, but, as Calvin pointed out, his patriarchal limit was to take care of the suburban churches.⁸¹⁷ Calvin also added that the Council did not establish the bishop of Rome to be the head of all but made him *unus ex praecipuis* among other patriarchs.⁸¹⁸ This was supported by the observation that the delegates of the Julius⁸¹⁹ were only assigned the fourth place in the council. Nevertheless, what is significant is that in denying the bishop of Rome to be the head of all churches, Calvin undeniably accepted the patriarchal status of the bishop of Rome as described in the Council of Nicea. This recognition could be of tremendous ecumenical implications.⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁵ Cf. Schützeichel 1989: 31-53.

⁸¹⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 196.

⁸¹⁷ Council of Nicea, canon 6. Cf. Percival 1900: 16-7. Meyendorff (1983b: 129-30): '... the sixth and seventh canons of the First Council have already established which dioceses should be submitted to the pope of Rome and to the bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.'

⁸¹⁸ Cf. Meyendorff (1983b: 127-8) which discusses the honorary privileges (προσβεῖα) of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch based upon canon 6 of the Council of Nicea.

⁸¹⁹ 'Julius' is an error, as it should be Sylvester I. See *Institutes* (1559/Bat) 2: 1118, n2.

⁸²⁰ At the same time, one must not make too much of this recognition on the part of Calvin since the patriarchal jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome given by the Council of Nicea is rather restrictive. By the standard of the 16th century papacy, it was limited. In the letter to the King of Poland in December 1554, Calvin compared the patriarchates in the ancient church to the archbishop of Poland. Great and important as the archbishop was, his jurisdiction was still confined to Poland. In the same letter, Calvin rejected the attempt 'to comprise the whole world under one overgrown government.' 'What the Romanists keep prating about one single head is then altogether nugatory, because neither the sacred commandment of God, nor the established usage of the church sanctions a second head to be joined with Christ, whom alone the heavenly Father has set over all.' See *LJC* 3: 104.

In the Council of Chalcedon, the legates of Rome occupied the first seat. But Calvin worded carefully that this was due to the Emperor's concession. Moreover, Leo (440-461) himself did not see that this was his due. A *moderator* was needed at that time as the Eastern bishops who had presided at the Council of Ephesus had abused their power.⁸²¹ Thus what was demanded by special privilege was based on an extraordinary situation (*extra ordinem*), not customary law.⁸²² Nevertheless, Calvin admitted that the Council needed a grave and suitable (*gravis et aptus*) moderator and at that time Rome filled that bill.⁸²³ In sending his legates to the fifth Council of Constantinople, Leo did not contend for the first seat. In that Council the patriarch of Constantinople 'was allowed to preside without difficulty.'⁸²⁴

In the Council of Carthage, deliberately chosen by Calvin to show a place outside Rome's jurisdiction, not the legates of the Roman see but the Archbishop of that place headed the Council. But then in another universal council, which Calvin did not specify, this time held under Rome's jurisdiction in Italy, the Roman bishop was not even present. The irony of Calvin cannot be missed.

Thus with careful choice of historical evidence Calvin set the power of the Roman bishop in proper perspective while rejecting Rome's claim to universal power over the church in the ancient times.

4.3.8.2. Records of the Ancient Church

Apart from using councils, Calvin also pointed out that in the records of the ancient church the titles of the Roman see such as the 'supreme pontiff' (*summus Pontifex*) and 'sole head of the church on earth' (*unicum Ecclesiae in terris caput*) were unheard of. Calvin took these titles seriously. He would not allow them to be given to the Roman bishop. That is why he called them 'titles of arrogance.' His method of tracing the growth in papal power is by locating from the ancient records the emergence and usurpation of these titles. These records include Cyprian, the whole of the Africa church, and Jerome. Admittedly, these sources are more selective than comprehensive.⁸²⁵

⁸²¹ Cf. Frend 1994: 229-30.

⁸²² By *communis lex* Calvin referred to the 'ancient custom' of canon 6 of the Council of Nicea again. Cf. Meyendorff 1983b: 12.

⁸²³ This again could be of great ecumenical implications. In rejecting the primacy of the bishop of Rome in the ancient councils, Calvin left open the possibility of accepting the leadership of Rome as moderator of an ecumenical council under exceptional circumstances. To be sure, this leadership has nothing to do with primacy or *principatus*.

⁸²⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 197: '...sed Mennam Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum praesidere facile passus est.'

⁸²⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 197.

Calvin detected the title of *primatus* first in Pope Stephen, whom Cyprian made equal to himself. Then he traced the emergence of the title of 'universal bishop' to the Eastern bishop, John of Constantinople.⁸²⁶

For he wished to make himself universal, which is something no one else had ever attempted at any time.⁸²⁷

Then Calvin used Gregory the Great to reject this title. To be accurate, one should note that Gregory had misunderstood the title 'universal bishop' used by John of Constantinople,⁸²⁸ for the title means supreme within John's patriarchate and not over the other patriarchs.⁸²⁹ Calvin, in adopting Gregory's criticism of John, also misunderstood the title. But Calvin's interest was in finding in Gregory an apt critic of the early emergence of the title, and in adopting Gregory's criticism he singled out certain themes which reflects his criticism of the papacy in his time.⁸³⁰ Thus, Calvin used Gregory's words to reject the title of universal bishop as a pretence for maintaining the unity of faith.⁸³¹ Also, Gregory's worry that the universal church would fall together with the fall of the universal bishop⁸³² reflects no less Calvin's anxiety about the disastrous consequence of such a fall. Finally, Gregory's warning that anyone who claimed to be the universal bishop would become the precursor of the Antichrist⁸³³ also echoes Calvin's understanding of the Antichrist in the church. These are genuine concerns for Calvin and he found them expressed succinctly in Gregory.

4.3.8.3. The Power of the Roman Bishop in the Early Period

In tracing the origin of the power of the papacy Calvin also discussed the jurisdiction which the Roman pontiff 'asserts he holds over all churches without controversy.'⁸³⁴ By jurisdiction Calvin did not for the moment refer to the kind of secular power the papacy usurped from worldly Empire in a later period. He would deal with the latter in due time. Here jurisdiction concerns spiritual government in

⁸²⁶ Markus (1997: 91) points out that when Gregory reacted against the patriarch of Constantinople over the use of *patriarches oikoumenikos/patriarcha universalis*, the latter had been in use by bishops of Constantinople for almost 100 years. By the time of Gregory, the title had become the patriarch's customary official style.

⁸²⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 197f. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.4.

⁸²⁸ Meyendorff (1989: 305) calls this a 'surprising misunderstanding of the title's true significance.'

⁸²⁹ Richards 1980: 221. Cf. also Meyendorff 1989: 305. For Gregory's understanding of universal bishop, see also Dudden 1905b: 218-9.

⁸³⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 197-8.

⁸³¹ *Institutio* (1543): 198: 'Aliud est, inquit, quod conservandae unitati fidei, aliud quod debemus comprimendae elationi.' Cf. *Registr.* VII, Ep. 30.

⁸³² *Registr.* V, Ep. 37.

⁸³³ *Registr.* V, Ep. 39.

⁸³⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 198.

the church. This concerned four areas: ordination of bishops, calling of councils, admonition of reproofs or censures, and hearing of appeals.⁸³⁵

Calvin found that all the ancient councils ordered bishops to be ordained by their metropolitans. Nowhere did they allow the Roman bishop to be called in except in his own patriarchate. That the Roman bishop ordained bishops of other patriarchates was of late development. In the case of admonitions or censures, Calvin showed that just as the Roman bishops formerly used them toward others, so they bore them in turn. Regarding the calling of synods, Calvin found that in the ancient church the bishop of Rome had no jurisdiction in summoning provincial synods, the duty of which belonged to each metropolitan. As for councils, it was the Emperor who *ex aequo* summoned the bishops to a council.⁸³⁶ At one point Calvin noted that it was forbidden by the canons that anything should be decreed without the knowledge of the Roman bishop.⁸³⁷ But then he immediately added that it was given to the antiquity and the greatness of the city of Rome and then to the dignity of the see, and that these decisions concerned such decrees that bound the universal church. Such respect for the Roman bishop, however, had nothing to do with lordship (*dominium*) over the whole church. The implication of this remark is quite significant, for it means that Calvin was not rejecting everything about Rome, especially the Rome in the ancient church. This only serves to reveal the kind of papal primacy Calvin rejected. Thus he rejected the supreme power the pope claimed for himself over the whole church.

We do not deny that the bishop of Rome was *unus ex praecipuis*,⁸³⁸ but we refuse to accept what the Romanists contend today—that he had supreme power (*imperium*) over all.⁸³⁹

In the case of the power to receive appeals, Calvin took great care to examine this issue. He admitted the principle that

supreme authority (*summum imperium*) remains in the hand of the one to whose tribunal appeals are made.⁸⁴⁰

He also recognised the fact that in the past many often appealed to the Roman pontiff, who in turn also attempted to draw hearing of trials to himself. But then he

⁸³⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 199.

⁸³⁶ Cf. Balthasar (1986: 70-1) admits this. He contrasts the 'classical period' of the great ecumenical councils and later periods as 'Old ecclesial autonomy versus papal centralism.'

⁸³⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 199.

⁸³⁸ Note that Calvin described the bishop of Rome in the ancient church as *unus ex praecipuis* a number of times. As noted above, this status was recognised by the Council of Nicea.

⁸³⁹ *Institutio* (1543): 199. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.8.

⁸⁴⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 200. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.9.

noted that the Roman pontiff was always laughed at as often as he exceeded his limits. In particular, the decision of the African bishops forbidding appeal across the sea was taken seriously by Calvin. In this case, Calvin accused the Roman bishop of substituting by fraud the appeal canons of Sardica for that of Nicea in order to establish the right of the Roman bishop to receive appeal.⁸⁴¹ In this case, the Roman bishop 'was caught disgracefully in manifest falsehood.'⁸⁴²

Thus these four areas of jurisdiction were not in the hands of the Roman bishops in the early centuries. The antiquity of the primacy of the Roman see was unfounded.⁸⁴³ Calvin's conclusion should be underlined:

We therefore see now how far the Roman pontiff then was removed in all manners from that supreme dominion (*suprema dominatio*) which he asserts to have been given him by Christ over all churches, and which is falsely said to be held by him by the consent of the whole world.⁸⁴⁴

4.3.8.4. Papal Documents and Leo

Ironically, papal documents also helped refute the claim of universal jurisdiction of the Roman bishop. Apparently, Calvin had read many letters, rescripts, and decrees of the pontiffs.⁸⁴⁵ But he denounced most of these documents as stupid (*insulsus*). For example, from Gratian's *Decretum*, Calvin commented that no one could believe that Anacletus (ca. 79-91) was the author of that curious interpretation—that Cephas meant a head.⁸⁴⁶ He also criticised Gratian for patching together similar trifles without discretion. H. Schützeichel comments that in Calvin's critique of the papacy, he did not take into consideration the historical development of the papacy.⁸⁴⁷ But for Calvin such development was not only falsified by the records of the ancient church, but was also invalidated by uncritical collections and fabulous interpretations of papal documents, not to mention those forgeries Calvin accused the papacy of making up in order to uphold its power.⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴¹ For a discussion of the appeal canons of Sardica, see Hess (1958: 109-127), esp. 124-5: '... There is no previous or contemporary evidence that such extraordinary authority as complete jurisdiction over all cases of deposition was anywhere or at any time conceded to the Roman bishop. Even the prerogative claimed by Julius himself ... is not this extensive. ... Rather than acclaiming the "just judgment" of Julius, the Sardican bishops write, "it became evident that the decision of our brother and fellow bishop Julius [concerning communion with Athanasius] was a just one." Surely, nothing is here implied about either the ability or the right of Julius to judge in any capacity other than that of a fellow bishop.'

⁸⁴² *Institutio* (1543): 200: '... turpiter in manifesta falsitate deprehensus fuit.'

⁸⁴³ Cf. the evaluation of Pelikan (1959: 34-44).

⁸⁴⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 200. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.10.

⁸⁴⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 200: 'Scio quam multae sint epistolae, quam multa rescripta et edicta'

⁸⁴⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 201; cf. *Decretum* I.: 22, 2; *PL* 187: 224.

⁸⁴⁷ Schützeichel 1987: 59.

⁸⁴⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 205.

Yet Calvin admitted that there were true epistles of early pontiffs in which the popes praised with magnificent eulogies the greatness of their see. The letters of Leo were notable examples.⁸⁴⁹ But he was careful to use Leo's letters to make his point. Although Leo was criticised as an ambitious person eager for glory and domination beyond measure,⁸⁵⁰ this pope still respected the ancient privileges of the metropolitans and the ordinary jurisdiction of other bishops. Leo's jurisdiction was still limited by the 'law and nature of the church communion.'⁸⁵¹ The papacy did not have primacy in the sense of universal jurisdiction in Leo's time.⁸⁵²

4.3.8.5. Gregory the Great

Calvin noted that by the time of Gregory the Great there was a marked increase in the power of the papacy. This was due, however, to the political upheaval of that time.⁸⁵³ He did not accuse Gregory's papacy of ambition. He had the understanding that amidst such political chaos it was natural that all the bishops should draw themselves more closely to the Roman pontiff to preserve the faith of the church. Yet at the same time he remarked that as a result of his involvement in worldly cares, Gregory himself found it difficult to fulfil his responsibility in total freedom.⁸⁵⁴ Hence, the need for a more centralized church government as well as the tension and danger created as a result of this increase in papal power were equally recognized by Calvin. Nevertheless, as Calvin was apt to point out, Gregory's power was still not equal to the 'unrestrained domination' (*effrena dominatio*) of the papacy in later times in which 'one man could command the others according to his desire (*libido*).'⁸⁵⁵

It is important at this juncture to examine Calvin's interpretation of the primacy of Gregory's see. Calvin not only used Gregory's power⁸⁵⁶ as a yardstick to criticise the plenitude of power Rome had in his own day, but more significantly, his interpretation also reflects the kind of papacy he appreciated or, perhaps, could even accept in history. The following summarises Calvin's observations:

⁸⁴⁹ Leo I, ep. 14, 1 (*PL* 54, 668, 671); ep. 10, 9 (*PL* 54, 636; ep. 15, 17 (*PL* 54, 692); ep. 14, 2 (*PL* 54, 672); ep. 13, 1 (*PL* 54, 664); see also tr. NPNF 2 ser. XII. 1. 16, 22, 25, 27.

⁸⁵⁰ Speaking of the authoritative language of Leo, Ullmann (1960a: 25) writes, 'He orders, decides, reprehends, deposes, corrects, threatens, defines, sentences, suspends, prescribes ...'

⁸⁵¹ *Institutio* (1543): 201.

⁸⁵² But Ullmann (1960a: 25-51)'s study points out that Leo made a permanent contribution to the ecclesiological thought of the papacy.'

⁸⁵³ For a succinct summary of the social and political situation and Gregory's achievement, see Logan 2002: 48-51.

Institutio (1543): 202; cf. *Gregor. I, Registr. ep. 7, ep 25.*

⁸⁵⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 201. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.12.

⁸⁵⁶ Meyendorff (1989: 304): 'The Pope understood his ministry in terms of service, rather than power.'

- In Calvin's view, Gregory's power was corrective in function.⁸⁵⁷ Calvin recognized that in Gregory's time the Roman see was honoured in such a way that his authority was used to restrain the wicked and the obstinate.⁸⁵⁸ While fully aware of this power, Gregory honoured the rights of his brothers in all things. In Calvin's interpretation, Gregory's primacy was exercised in the context of the acknowledged equality between the Roman pontiff and other bishops.⁸⁵⁹ Calvin wrote:

There is no expression in his writings that boasts more superciliously of the greatness of his primacy than this: 'I know of no bishop who would not be subject to the apostolic see, when he is found at fault.' Yet he immediately adds, 'When there is no fault to expel, all are equal according to the rule of humility.'⁸⁶⁰ He allots to himself the right to correct those who have sinned; if all do their duty, he makes himself equal to the others.⁸⁶¹

Moreover, and this is a point of no less importance, Gregory allowed others either to assent to or to protest against his authority.⁸⁶² Actually, Calvin added, the majority of them did protest against Gregory's authority.

- In exercising his office in relation to other primates Gregory did not attempt anything that violated ordinary jurisdiction (*ordinaria iurisdictio*).⁸⁶³ This can be seen in the situation when Gregory acted as judge over the case of the Byzantine primate, who after being condemned by a provincial synod, stubbornly repudiated the whole judgment of the synod. Calvin emphasised that Gregory did this because he subjected

⁸⁵⁷ Cf. Meyvaert (1977a: 10): 'As successor to St. Peter in the See of Rome, he had no doubt about his own position of primacy in the Church, but he was only willing to assert this primacy when things went wrong, when a reproof was called for.' See also the 'Prolegomena' in Schaff (1895: xii): 'He seems to have regarded the See of St. Peter as everywhere supreme only in the sense of its being its prerogative to conserve inviolate the catholic faith and observance of the canons, wherever heresy or uncanonical proceedings called for protest and correction.'

⁸⁵⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 201; cf. *Registr.* II. ep. 52.

⁸⁵⁹ For Gregory's view of the primacy of Rome, see Dudden 1905b: 224-8.

⁸⁶⁰ *Registr.* IX ep. 27. Gregory's words refer to Clementius, Primate of Byzacia, who had been found at fault, but later had professed his submission to the Apostolic See. Cf. *Moral.* XXXVI 46: 'The place of authority is well filled when he who rules holds dominion over faults, rather than over brethren.' Cf. Sharkey (1950: 100-1): 'Gregory's own position as judge, however, looked especially towards the correction of disorder.'

⁸⁶¹ *Institutio* (1543): 201. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.12. Cf. *Reg. Past.* II 6.

⁸⁶² Meyvaert (1977a: 12) points out that central in Gregory's conception of Christian authority is a 'humilis auctoritas.'

⁸⁶³ For a brief review of Gregory's jurisdiction, see 'Prolegomena' in Schaff 1895: x-xiii. For details, see Dudden 1905a: 357-476. Cf. also Sharkey 1950: 92-100; Meyendorff 1989: 302-3.

himself to the command of the Emperor and he was a helper to his brothers.⁸⁶⁴

- In settling doctrinal controversy, Gregory did not declare himself to be the sole judge, but promised to convene a synod in order to decide the matter.⁸⁶⁵ The moderation of Gregory served to demonstrate that the power of the Roman see had its limits which it could not exceed, and the Roman bishop himself did not stand any more above than beneath others.
- Although in exercising his office Gregory was forced to draw back into the world as a result of the heavy demands of administrative burdens,⁸⁶⁶ this involvement in fact greatly displeased him. His spiritual attention was still heavenward.⁸⁶⁷ Amidst such cares, he was still doing the duty of a pastor.
- Gregory abstained from civil government, and confessed himself subject to the emperor, which meant that theoretically he exercised spiritual jurisdiction only.⁸⁶⁸
- Gregory never intruded into the care of other churches unless constrained by necessity.
- The controversy between Gregory and the Patriarch of Constantinople, John IV (known as John the Faster), over the latter's claim to the title of 'Oecumenical Patriarch' provided Calvin a unique understanding of Gregory's papacy.⁸⁶⁹ In Gregory's eyes, any bishop who claimed such a title was setting himself above the others. Gregory himself could not tolerate anyone being called Oecumenical/Universal Patriarch.⁸⁷⁰ He could not see himself being called as such.⁸⁷¹ When Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, call him 'Universal Pope,' Gregory flatly rejected the title.⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 201f; cf. *Registr.* II, Ep. 50.

⁸⁶⁵ Cf. *Registr.* I, Ep. 16. Cf. Evans 1986: 129.

⁸⁶⁶ See Richards 1980: 85-139.

⁸⁶⁷ *Registr.* I, Ep. 7. *Registr.* I, ep. 25. Cf. Cavadini 1995: 62-81

⁸⁶⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 202a. Meyendorff (1989: 303) points out that Gregory wrote to emperor Maurice as his 'unworthy servant' (*indignis pietatis vestrae famulus*).

⁸⁶⁹ *Institutio* (1543): 203. For a background of the controversy of the title in Gregory's time, see 'Prolegomena' in Schaff 1895: xxii-xxv.

⁸⁷⁰ Meyendorff (1989: 305) points out that Gregory always translated rather incorrectly the word 'ecumenical' as 'universal.' See especially Meyendorff (1996: 17): 'Although Gregory shows a rather astonishing misunderstanding of the true meaning of the adjective "ecumenical" in a Byzantine context, the case in point gives him an opportunity to denounce any pretension, on his own part, to assume "universal jurisdiction."'

⁸⁷¹ Cf. *Registr.* I, ep. 37. 39. 41. 45.

⁸⁷² Cf. *Registr.* VIII ep. 29. Meyendorff (1996: 17-8) makes this very insightful comments: 'This example is clearly indicative of the fact that the "mystical" self-consciousness of the popes did not lead them, during those early centuries, to translate it necessarily in terms of *formal* power, disciplinary or doctrinal.'

In Calvin's reading, Gregory avoided self-exalted pride in his office and he forbade others to elevate the Roman see above others.⁸⁷³ He would seek not his own honour but the honour of his fellow bishops and the honour of the church Universal.

- Calvin specifically points out that Gregory had never thought that Rome should be the head of all churches.⁸⁷⁴ For in his letter Gregory wrote:

Peter was the chief member in the body; John, Andrew, and James were heads of particular groups of people. Yet all members of the church are under one Head. Indeed, the saints before the law, the saints under the law, the saints in grace, all completing the body of the Lord, have been constituted as its members. And no one ever wished himself to be called 'Universal.'⁸⁷⁵

Thus, he protested against being addressed as Universal Pope by Eulogius of Alexandria.⁸⁷⁶

- For Gregory, the unity of faith of the church was not served by assuming the title of 'Universal Bishop.' At this point, one can see why Gregory abhorred this title. For by assuming this title, one not only 'proudly puts himself above all others' but also makes one 'the precursor of the Antichrist.'⁸⁷⁷ Moreover, 'it follows that the Universal Church falls when he who is called universal [bishop] falls.'⁸⁷⁸ One can see that in picking up Gregory's critique of the Universal Bishop/Patriarch, Calvin also shared the concerns and fear of the pope.

⁸⁷³ See the 'Prolegomena' in Schaff (1895: xxii): 'The title [was] viewed as not being one of honour only, but as meaning really assumption of spiritual authority over the Church at large.' Cf. also Markus (1997: 94), who, in explaining Gregory's strong reaction, writes, 'if any particular bishop was "universal", no bishop anywhere else could be in possession of full episcopal status.' Markus (1983b: 354): 'what Gregory I, challenging the use of the title by the patriarch of Constantinople in the 590's, took objection to was not an attempt by Constantinople to usurp what rightfully belonged to Rome; what he objected to was what he understood the title to mean: and that, he thought, amounted to obscene blasphemy, whether claimed by the bishop of Constantinople or of Rome.' See also Meyvaert 1977b: 155: 'The fundamental motive in Gregory's attitude, the one which he unceasingly mentions in his correspondence, can be summarized thus: no one except Christ and the Church has the right to be called Universal, because all bishops are equal having the same power of orders and because if one of them is called "universal", the *raison d'être* of all the others would cease to exist.' Cf. also Meyendorff (1989: 305): 'St Gregory ... understood all primacies, including his own, in a way which excluded the existence of a "universal" bishop.'

⁸⁷⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 203. Incidentally, Meyvaert (1977b: 146) points out that Gregory I also benefited from his deep meditation on the epistles of St Paul. Thus in the church Gregory recognised Christ as the church's own heavenly Head, with the harmonious diversity of members forming the Body. See Meyvaert 1977b: 152-53. Cf. *Moral.* XXVIII, 23 (*PL* 76, 462). Cf. also section II on Gregory's concept of the papacy in McEniery 1974: 267-71.

⁸⁷⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 205. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.21. Cf. *Registr.* V. ep. 18.

⁸⁷⁶ *Registr.* VIII. ep. 30.

⁸⁷⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 198; *Registr.* VII. ep. 33.

⁸⁷⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 198; *Registr.* V. ep. 20.

Taken as a whole, Calvin's description of Gregory the Great's papacy listed here yield two results. First, at every point Calvin's appreciation of Gregory's papacy serves to put his rejection of the development of the papacy after Gregory in sharper contrast. In Calvin's view, no bishops after Gregory could live up to this pope's example. The kind of papal primacy after Gregory was by no means compatible with Gregory's belief and practice. That explains why Calvin, following Luther, called Gregory the Great 'the last bishop of Rome.'⁸⁷⁹ Secondly, Gregory's papacy as described by Calvin is perhaps the upper limit that could win Calvin's approval. The implications of this for understanding Calvin's attitude to the papacy could be tremendous.

But Calvin was not just an indiscriminate follower of Luther in calling Gregory the last bishop of Rome. In his appreciation of the pope⁸⁸⁰ Calvin's opinion was very much his own. He studied at length Gregory's letters in his critique of Rome, as evidenced by his own words: 'from very many letters of Gregory,' 'in the letters of Gregory,' 'among Gregory's letters,' 'in Gregory's letters.'⁸⁸¹ But then this raises an interesting question the answer to which would turn out to be of great significance in our evaluation of Calvin's appreciation of Gregory's papacy. To be sure, Gregory's exercise of his papacy, as partially described above in Calvin's portrait, cannot be separated from his own conception of the papacy and papal primacy. Then, what actually was Gregory's conception of the papacy and papal primacy as revealed in his letters which Calvin had studied at great length?

There is more to Gregory the Great's letter to the Emperor Maurice about his conception of the papacy which Calvin quoted to the effect that 'the universal church falls when he who is called the universal [bishop] falls.' In rejecting the claim to Universal Bishop by John the Faster, Gregory first described the primacy of Peter in relation to the whole church:

For to all who know the gospel it is clear that by the Lord's voice the care of the whole Church was committed to the holy Apostle and Prince of all the Apostles, Peter. For to him it is said, 'Peter, do you love me? Feed My sheep.' To him it is said, 'Behold, Satan has desired to sift you as wheat; and I have prayed for you,

⁸⁷⁹ This comment is given in the context of his discussion on the meaning of the Lord's Supper in the 1543 *Institutio*. See *Institutio* (1543): 447-8. Luther had stated succinctly in his *Supputatio annorum mundi* (1541, 1545), in *WA* (53: 142): 'Gregorius magnus ultimus Episcopus Romanae Ecclesiae, sequentes sunt Papae, id est Pontifices Romanae Curiae.' Cf. McEniery (1974: 263): 'Calvin regarded Gregory I as the last legitimate claimant to the *cura aliarum ecclesiarum* exercised by the bishops of Rome, and a book appeared in 1715 proving that Gregory was a Lutheran born before his time.' McEniery refers to J. P. Stute, *Gregorius Magnus papa Lutheranus* (Leipzig, 1715).

⁸⁸⁰ Cf. Little 1963: 145-57; Lane 1999: 47, 87. But note Mooi (1965: 358)'s comment: 'Calvin's opinion of Gregory I has become lower and lower in the course of the years though originally he rather appreciated him. Sometimes he made sharp remarks about him, especially later.'

⁸⁸¹ *Institutio* (1543): 176, 180, 199

Peter, that your faith fails not. And you, when you have turned back, strengthen your brethren. To him it is said, 'You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell will not prevail against it. And I will give you then the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatever you bind on earth will be bound also in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed also in heaven.'⁸⁸²

Note that by the 'rock' Gregory did not refer to the person of Peter but to his confession, as is evident from another letter in which Gregory wrote to queen Theodelinda,

... but persist you in the true faith, make your life firm on the rock of the Church, that is, on the confession of the blessed Peter, Prince of the apostles.⁸⁸³

The purpose of thus describing the primacy of Peter is to show that even Peter himself was not called universal bishop.⁸⁸⁴ Thus Gregory continued:

Look, he received the keys of the heavenly kingdom, and power to bind and loose is given him, the care and supremacy (*principatus*) of the whole Church is committed to him, and yet he is not called the universal apostle, while the most holy man, my fellow-priest (*consacerdos*) John, attempts to be called universal bishop. I am compelled to cry out and say, *O tempora, O mores!*⁸⁸⁵

The amazing thing about Calvin's treatment of this letter is that he remained silent about Gregory's conviction regarding Peter's primacy. This is all the more so when he corrected only Gregory's misunderstanding in the same letter regarding the title of Universal Bishop being given to the Roman Pontiff by the Council of Chalcedon. Gregory wrote,

Certainly, in honour of the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, it was offered by the venerable Council of Chalcedon to the Roman Pontiff. But none of them has ever consented to use this name of singularity, lest, by something being given privately to one, priests in general should be deprived of the honour due to them. How is it then that we do not seek the glory of this title even when offered, and another presumes to seize it for himself though not offered?⁸⁸⁶

Then Calvin corrected Gregory in his comments,

⁸⁸² *Registr.* V. ep. 20.

⁸⁸³ *Registr.* IV, ep. 38: 'Sed in uera fide persistite et uitam uestram in petra ecclesiae, id est in confessione beati Petri apostolorum principis solidate ...' Oddly, Sharkey (1950: 83) reckons this statement to 'be taken as one of the strongest statements of the pontiff (i.e. Gregory) on Papal infallibility.'

⁸⁸⁴ It is striking that in the whole correspondence dealing with the 'oecumenical' controversy, never once did Gregory bring in directly the claim of the Roman primacy to oppose Constantinople (see Meyvaert 1977a: 11). But in the opening stage of the Reformation, Rome felt that its primacy was at stake in face of Luther's attack on Indulgences and rose to assert its primacy with anathemas, which eventually developed into irreconcilable conflicts between Rome and the reformers.

⁸⁸⁵ *Registr.* V. ep. 20.

⁸⁸⁶ *Registr.* V, ep. 20.

But so far as he writes that this honour had been offered to Leo in the Council of Chalcedon, it has no semblance of truth, for no such thing is to be read in the acts of that Council.⁸⁸⁷

It appears that Calvin would tolerate Gregory's conviction regarding the primacy of Peter, because for Gregory, Peter's primacy had nothing to do with the proud title of Universal Bishop.

The next silence of Calvin about Gregory's papacy concerns the latter's conviction that the see of Rome was the successor of Peter, and with this, the pope's primacy by divine right—'a primacy not of rank only, but also of authority in the Church Universal.'⁸⁸⁸ In a letter that Calvin had quoted,⁸⁸⁹ Gregory wrote to Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, about the Petrine succession which the bishop of Rome had inherited:

Your most sweet Holiness has spoken much in *your letter to me about the chair of Saint Peter*, Prince of the apostles, *saying that he himself now sits on it continuously in the persons of his successors*. And indeed I acknowledge myself to be unworthy, not only in the dignity of such as preside, but even in the number of such as stand. *But I gladly accepted all that has been said*, in that he has spoken to me about Peter's chair who occupies Peter's chair⁸⁹⁰ (italics mine).

Again, Calvin did not explicitly object to this claim to Petrine succession by Gregory. This may also be explained by an original concept of primacy that Gregory had in mind.⁸⁹¹ For in the same letter Gregory wrote:

For who can be ignorant that the holy Church has been established in the solid strength of the Prince of the apostles, who derived his name from the firmness of his mind, so as to be called *Petrus* from *petra*? And to him it is said by the voice

⁸⁸⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 198. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.4.

⁸⁸⁸ 'Prolegomena' in Schaff 1895: xi.

⁸⁸⁹ *Institutio* (1543): 194.

⁸⁹⁰ *Registr.* VII, ep. 40.

⁸⁹¹ But cf. the S.T. D. dissertation of Sharkey (1950). Though in many ways a commendable analysis, there are, however, three weaknesses in Sharkey's work. First, he understated the humility of Gregory. Gregory regards highly St. Peter's *cathedra* rather than his own, although he saw himself as the successor of this *cathedra*. This shows Gregory's humility. Gregory did not emphasise his own power as the later papacy did. This humble tone of Gregory's papacy is so strong that it should be considered a distinctive mark of his papacy. Secondly, despite its clear and concise analysis, the work nevertheless betrays the author's own Catholic presupposition. Gregory's idea of papal power was lifted to a plane on which his thinking was consistent with other popes before and after him. Again, this is an eclipse of the distinctiveness of Gregory's papacy. The weakest point of Sharkey's work is that he makes Gregory sounds like a pope after Vatican I when the author, by means of a number of indirect inferences from Gregory's texts, concludes that Gregory also considered himself the *os Domini*, or the *official voice* of the church (p. 72). All in all, as evident again from the short conclusion of the thesis, the reader cannot tell how the papacy of Gregory differs significantly from all other popes after him: 'The Thought of Gregory, then can be summed up in an observation. Christ established the Church as a body. He is its Divine Head, and the Roman Pontiff is His visible representative on earth, constituted such by the will of Christ in the person of St. Peter. The unity of faith and rule is guaranteed through the Papal office. All the members of this visible society act in union and co-operation and all work for the building up of the universal Church' (p. 122).

of the Truth: To you I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And again it is said to him: And when you have returned, strengthen thy brethren. And once more: Simon, son of Jonas, do you love Me? Feed my sheep. Wherefore, though there are many apostles, yet with regard to the supremacy (*principatus*) itself the See of the Prince of the Apostles alone has grown strong in authority, which, though in three places, is yet the See of one. For he himself exalted the See in which he deigned even to rest and end the present life. He himself adorned the See to which he sent his disciple as evangelist. He himself established the See in which, though he was to leave it, he sat for seven years. Since then it is the See of one and one See, over which by Divine authority three bishops now preside, whatever good I hear of you, this I impute to myself. If you believe anything good of me, impute this to your merits, for we are one in Him who says, That they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee that they also may be one in us.⁸⁹²

Similar ideas can be found in another letter to the same correspondent:

Yet there is something that binds us in a certain peculiar way to the church of Alexandria, and compels us, as it were by a special law, to have a special love for it. For, as it is known to all that the blessed evangelist Mark was sent by Saint Peter the apostle, his master, to Alexandria, so we are bound together in the unity of this master and his disciple, so that I seem to preside over the see of the disciple because of the master, and you over the see of the master because of the disciple.⁸⁹³

Thus, F. Homes Dudden commented that

Gregory put forward a remarkable, and, so far as I know, an entirely original theory of the See of Peter, which would scarcely have commended itself to St. Leo. He maintained that whereas Antioch had been the See of Peter before he came to Rome, and whereas Alexandria had become the See of Peter through his disciple and vicar St. Mark, therefore Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria conjointly represented the See of the Prince of the Apostles, and shared equally in the primacy that belonged to it as such.⁸⁹⁴

Significantly, Dudden also commented that

th[is] doctrine of the divided principality and triple See, emanating as it does from a Bishop of Rome, is sufficiently striking.⁸⁹⁵

Sharkey, appealing to Caspar's *Geschichte des Papsttums*,⁸⁹⁶ does not think that 'Gregory's thought [should] be taken as an entirely original theory.'⁸⁹⁷ He is of the opinion that 'the words of Gregory seem but a restatement of the old theory of the

⁸⁹² *Registr.* VII, ep. 40.

⁸⁹³ *Registr.* VI, ep. 60.

⁸⁹⁴ Dudden 1905b: 226.

⁸⁹⁵ Dudden 1905b: 228. Cf. the 'Prolegomena' in Schaff 1895: xii: 'His view of the principality of St. Peter's See not being vested exclusively in the See of Rome remains no less distinctly on record. ... Accordingly, we do not find Gregory in any of his letters to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch addressing them in a tone of command.'

⁸⁹⁶ Caspar 1933: 461.

⁸⁹⁷ Sharkey 1950: 55.

three Petrine Sees.⁸⁹⁸ But what was striking to Calvin and sufficiently impressed him in his polemical context is that Gregory still upheld this ancient position and did not assert his own *principatus* over against the rights of the other ancient sees. It is no wonder that Calvin remained silent regarding Gregory's view of the primacy of his own see without issuing any criticism against it. Basically, Gregory's view of his own primacy as examined here matched with Calvin's understanding that Gregory not only did not see himself as the head of all churches but also treated other bishops with equality and only asserted his authority as needs arose.⁸⁹⁹

This tacit acceptance of Gregory the Great's papacy is of great importance for our evaluation of Calvin's attitude to the papacy. For it gives us a clue as to the kind of papacy that Calvin would tolerate or even accept to favourable degrees.⁹⁰⁰ In Gregory the Great Calvin found a genuine *servus servorum Dei*.⁹⁰¹ It was not just the man Gregory that Calvin appreciated; one may perhaps say that even his primacy was quietly accepted by Calvin. However, the development of the papacy after Gregory was, in the eyes of Calvin, quite another story. With Gregory the Great set as a reference, one can understand why the papacy after this pope was rejected so vehemently by Calvin.

4.3.8.6. *The Establishment of the Supremacy of the Roman Papacy*

If the power of Gregory's papacy was still limited in scope and Gregory was the last Roman bishop accepted by Calvin, how did it come about that papal primacy grew to a point rejected by Calvin? In his review of this history, Calvin outlined three episodes spanning roughly over 200 years after the death of Gregory the Great which led to the eventual establishment of Roman supremacy. Significantly, all the

⁸⁹⁸ Sharkey 1950: 55.

⁸⁹⁹ Cf. Evans (1986: 123-9, esp. 129): 'Yet Gregory makes no claim to *plenitudo potestatis* for the bishop of Rome. He leans upon the authority he borrows from the past, the consent of earlier teachers (*consona sanctis Patribus definitione*). The authority Gregory wields is that of the Church past, present and to come, unified by a singleness of mind on the truth which Gregory strove to preserve by encouraging the holding of councils and synods.' Cf. the 'Prolegomena' in Schaff 1895: x-xii. Meyvaert (1977b: 155-57) demonstrates brilliantly that Gregory's understanding of primacy has its root in his conviction regarding authority. Gregory did not believe that authority belonged to the primitive order of things. Authority had its origin in sin. Sin had left man's nature weak and authority was the means designed by God to lead man back to Himself. For Gregory, 'if the mind descends within itself from its eminence, it will soon discover the level of natural equality' (*Moral.* XXI, 22). Thus authority in the church must be understood in terms of 'service' and exercised in 'humility.'

⁹⁰⁰ It was Calvin's silence that led Meyvaert (1977a: 3-12) to suppose that Calvin was only looking at the equality that Gregory advocated but failed to recognise Gregory's primacy. But our study here shows that since Calvin was reading Gregory's letters which also asserted his primacy, his silence bespoke his toleration or even acceptance of the authority of Gregory's primacy in his appreciation of the pope's theological view on this primacy.

⁹⁰¹ It should not surprise us to read O'Donnell (1995: 63) commenting that Gregory offers us 'a model of a restrained type of papacy as recently as the 1960s.'

key events involved the assistance of political power.⁹⁰² And ironically, it began with Phocas granting to Boniface III (607) 'what Gregory had never asked for, that Rome should be head of all the churches.'⁹⁰³ Then under Pepin, Pope Zacharias (741-752) was given jurisdiction over the churches of Gaul. He also became the head of all the bishops. These were given to the pope because he had sanctioned Pepin's *coup d'état* 'to expel the lawful king.'⁹⁰⁴ The third episode focused on the *pactio* between Charlemagne and the Roman Pontiff,⁹⁰⁵ in which the pope crowned Charlemagne as emperor (A.D. 800) and Charlemagne in turn strengthened the spiritual power of the pope.⁹⁰⁶ Calvin commented that 'from this, one may infer that at that time a change was made in the ancient *status* (of the pope).'⁹⁰⁷ Since that time, the 'tyranny' of the Roman see continued to grow. In the time of Bernard (1090-1153), Rome's corruption had already profaned all things sacred and squandered the whole church order.⁹⁰⁸

It should be remarked that immediately after the section on *De primatu Papae*, Calvin developed more fully the critique of the ambition of the papacy in the pursuit of jurisdictional power under a new section (*De potestate & iurisdictione Ecclesiae*). There the center of Calvin's critique fell on the worldly and political jurisdiction of the pope. Emphatically he pointed out that the pope's jurisdiction was

⁹⁰² For a very penetrating study of the coming into being of the supremacy of the papacy in the unification of 'an earthly and heavenly city,' see Markus 1983c: 1-50.

⁹⁰³ *Institutio* (1543): 203. Cf. Dudden (1905b: 223-4): 'When Phocas succeeded Maurice on the throne of Empire, he is said to have issued a decree that "the Apostolic See of St. Peter, that is the Roman Church, should be the head of all the Churches" (*Lib. Pont. Vita Bonifacii III*). But in spite of this Imperial confirmation of the Roman primacy, the Patriarchs of Constantinople continued to struggle against the Roman claim, and the Emperor Heraclius in his laws again referred to them as Ecumenical Bishops. At length the Popes, despairing of the abolition of the title, decided to encourage its application to themselves. And within a century of Gregory's death the Bishops of Rome began to style themselves and allow others to style them Ecumenical Bishops or Ecumenical Popes, which title they have never since repudiated. And thus strangely the controversy has ended—the Popes themselves consenting to be honoured with the very title which was characterized by a Pope, a Doctor, and a Saint, as foolish, proud, pestiferous, profane, a diabolical usurpation, and a mark of the forerunner of Antichrist.'

⁹⁰⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 203. Cf. Küng (1995: 350)'s comment on this event: 'Note that in this way the foundation was laid in the West for the Christian idea of the king; for the first time a Pope (at that time Zacharias) acted so to speak as kingmaker. ... Thus Pepin's elevation to the throne brought advantages to both sides: to the Carolingians, since they had their rule in a way divinely legitimated; to the Popes, since in future nothing happened without their blessing.'

⁹⁰⁵ Cf. Küng (1995: 351-2) also describes this episode.

⁹⁰⁶ Cf. the analysis of Pelikan 1959: 43-4.

⁹⁰⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 203.

⁹⁰⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 203f-204. Calvin used Bernard's *De consideratione* to denounce the corruptions of Rome. Cf. Bernard, *De consideratione* I. 4. 5; 10. 13; IV. 2. 4, 5; IV. 4. 77; III. 2. 6-12; III. 4. 14 (*PL* 182. 732, 740 f., 774 f., 780, 761-764, 766; I also used the English translation by Lewis (1908: 20, 32, 84, 109, 101 f., 75-82, 85).

a 'pseudo-ecclesiastical jurisdiction' (*pseudoecclesiastica iurisdictio*).⁹⁰⁹ He even set this 'pseudo-ecclesiastical jurisdiction' in direct opposition to Christ's rule:

For if we allow Christ a kingdom among us, this whole kind of dominion (*dominatio*) cannot but at once be thrown to the ground and broken down.⁹¹⁰

Again, he reckoned that the growth of papal power at each stage was part of a grand, successive design of papal overlordship throughout the west. This description is full of mistrust towards the bishops and the popes. The impression is that Calvin actually saw the whole papacy as a conspiracy to attain power:

There is no doubt that from feeble beginnings they have little by little made great advances. For they could not climb thus far with the first step. But *at one time (sed nunc)* they secretly raised themselves by craft and by oblique arts, so that no one could have foreseen what would happen until it happened. *At other times (nunc)*, given the opportunity, by terror and threats they extorted from princes some increase of their power. *At still other times (nunc)*, when they saw princes not difficult to be generous, they abused their foolish and thoughtless generosity. ... Finally (*tandem*), the Roman pontiff, not content with modicre governors, first laid his hand on kingdoms, then upon the Empire itself⁹¹¹ (*italics mine*).

In Calvin's account, the papacy had two major pretexts⁹¹² to prove its claim to worldly political jurisdiction. The one is based on divine right, and the other on the Donation of Constantine.⁹¹³ As divine right meant that this papal overlordship was based on divine law, the Donation of Constantine, on the other hand, meant that this papal superiority was also grounded on human law.⁹¹⁴ These two complemented each other. But Calvin was convinced that the *possessio* of the papacy was obtained by mere robbery (*merum latrocinium*). One after another he used Bernard's *De consideratione*,⁹¹⁵ Gregory the Great's humility⁹¹⁶ and Lorenzo Valla's *De falso*

⁹⁰⁹ *Institutio* (1543): 224. Beginning with the 1539 *Institutio*, we find Calvin using *pseudoepiscopi*, *pseudoapostoli*, and *pseudoprophetai* to describe the pope and the bishops. [In his letter to Farel on 27 October 1539, he told Farel that he agreed with Caroli's definition that *pseudopropheta* 'was not a person who might teach somewhat beyond or independent of the word of God, but one who could welcome or approve of dogmas opposed to the word of God.' See *LJC* 1: 159.] Now in the 1543 *Institutio*, he used *pseudoiurisdictio* to describe the pope's jurisdictional power.

⁹¹⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 224. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.11.8.

⁹¹¹ *Institutio* (1543): 225-6. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.11.10.

⁹¹² Calvin actually used the word '*color*,' which refers to 'an external appearance' or 'an artful excuse.' *Institutio* (1543): 226.

⁹¹³ In May/June 1537, Luther had already published *One of the High Articles of the Most Holy Papal Faith, Called the Donation of Constantine* (*WA* 50: 65-89). Brecht (1993b: 189) summarises that 'Luther chose this topic in order to "annoy the devil and his papacy."'

⁹¹⁴ Ullmann 1949: 108.

⁹¹⁵ *Institutio* (1543): 226. Calvin's citations were drawn in order from *Csi* 2:6:10, *Csi* 1.6.7, *Csi* 2:6:9, *Csi* 2:6:10, *Csi* 2:6:11. Cf. Lane 1996: 104-5, 114-5. See also the English translation by Lewis 1908.

⁹¹⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 227. On Calvin's use of Bernard, cf. Raitt 1980: 98-121; esp. Lane 1999: 87-114.

credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio,⁹¹⁷ to reprove the papacy's ambition.

Under Calvin's historical scrutiny, the papal kingdom was of late invention. When he wrote that 'not yet five hundred years have elapsed since the pontiffs were still in subjection to the princes and no pontiff was elected without the authority of the emperor,'⁹¹⁸ he must be calculating from the pontificate of Gregory I (590-604) to Gregory VII (1073-1085).⁹¹⁹ Then the Emperor Henry provided Gregory VII the occasion to change the order of the pontiffs' subjection to the Emperor. The climax comes with these words:

Since that time the pontiffs have not ceased, at one time by fraud, at another time by treachery, and at yet another time by force, to invade other men's sovereignty. And about 130 years ago they have reduced the city itself, which was at that time free, to their control, until they came to that power which they hold today, and for some two hundred years they have so thrown the Christian world into confusion in order to retain or expand that authority that they have almost destroyed it.⁹²⁰

By now it is clear that what Calvin rejected was the medieval papacy up to his time. This clarification of Calvin's target will be important for our evaluation of Calvin's rejection of the papacy.

Thus, under this brief scrutiny the development of this increase in papal power was by no means natural.⁹²¹ It had to do with the ambitions of the popes taking opportunities from an unholy alliance with political power and then invading into the territory of secular power as their ambitions unfolded themselves.

⁹¹⁷ For an introduction, see Coleman 1922: 1-8. Cf. Polman 1932: 172. Velenus, whose *Petrum Romam non venisse* Calvin used earlier, already mentioned Valla's contribution in the opening pages of his work. See Velenus 1520: Aii. In the time of Marsilius of Padua there were already doubts about the authenticity of the Donation of Constantine. See Marsiglio of Padua 1993: xii. Also, as early as 1520 Luther already knew Valla's work: 'I have in my hands Hutten's edition of Lorenzo Valla's refutation of the Donation of Constantine from the library of Dominicus Schleupner. Good God, what darkness, what wickedness of the Romanists! ... I anguish and no longer doubt that the Pope is the antichrist, whom all the world has awaited. ...' (Luther to Spalatin, February 24, 1520, *WABr.* 2: 257/48-9). I quote Luther's words from Stadtwald 1991: 238.

⁹¹⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 227.

⁹¹⁹ For the contrast in the understanding of Petrine primacy between Gregory I and Gregory VII, see Tillard (1983: 50-55). See also Meyendorff (1996: 18): 'The "mystical" sense of Petrine primacy, still held by St. Gregory the Great, a primacy which, in order to be effective, needed a "reception" within the episcopal unity became, with Gregory VII (1073-85), and institutional power, conceived as God-established and non-negotiable.'

⁹²⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 227. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.11.14.

⁹²¹ Modern scholars like Markus (1983b: 352-61) would also say, 'The "primacy" of the Roman See, I take to be ... a primitive *datum*. Let us assume that this belonged to it from the start, instituted by the Lord himself. The "monarchy" [which owed its existence to the later eleventh century and the twelfth] it owed to the contingent, secular development of European society.' The papal monarchy, according to Markus (1983b: 357) was 'quite simply the historical development of Western Europe.' 'It was neither greater antiquity nor greater theological vitality that assured the eventual triumph of the papal ideology.'

4.3.9. Rejection of Contemporary Papal Supremacy

Eventually, Calvin's historical examination of papal history arrived at the condition of the papacy of his own day. At this critical point, Calvin used his *concessio* rhetoric again. Calvin wrote,

But now, though we today concede to the Roman pontiff that eminence and wideness of jurisdiction, which in the Middle Ages (the time of Leo and Gregory) this see had, what is this to the present papacy?⁹²²

Again, it is clear that the purpose of this *concessio* rhetoric is to direct the reader's attention to rejecting the corruption of 'the present papacy.' Here one can see what caused Calvin's rejection of the contemporary papacy. He focused on denouncing the kind of spiritual government (*spirituale regimen*) the papacy had in his day. By this he referred specifically to the spiritual domination of papal authority in the church.

The first to note is that at this juncture Calvin was not rejecting merely papal practices but in the main based his criticism on Gratian's *Decretum* (1141).⁹²³ It is not difficult to see why Calvin dealt with the *Decretum*.⁹²⁴ The *Decretum* was the decisive collection of previous collections of canon laws like the *Diversorum patrum sententiae* that advanced arguments for the support of

the same theme—the primacy of the bishop of Rome over the universal Church, East and West, Lay and Spiritual.⁹²⁵

Thus, what Calvin attempted to refute was the juridical definition and conception of papal primacy as developed in the theory of papal monarchy in the eleventh and twelfth century.⁹²⁶ It was this conception of papal primacy that laid the foundation for the structure of the papacy in Calvin's time. Failure to mark this distinction will miss the target of Calvin's criticism.

⁹²² *Institutio* (1543): 204. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.19. Note that Calvin did not say his concession covered the whole Middle Ages but referred specifically to the time of Leo I and Gregory I. As seen above, the papacy after Gregory I had been rejected by him.

⁹²³ *Institutio* (1543): 204: 'Innumera eius generis habentur in farragine Gratiani, quae non recenseo ...'

⁹²⁴ In the *Resolutio super propositione XIII* Luther also 'dealt with the problem of the canon law. Not until they came into existence had the Roman claim to superiority taken definite shape. Only through them did the church develop into a juridical and legal body. Rome's claim to have all legal jurisdiction was the source of the church's corruption. Luther was already uncertain whether the church could have any earthly head beside Christ' (Brecht 1985: 308).

⁹²⁵ Gilchrist: 1962: 22.

⁹²⁶ For Calvin's numerous references to Gratian's *Decretum*, see OS V, 122. The *Decretum Gratiani* forms the first part of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg (1879): vol. I.

What Calvin primarily rejected was to define the pope as the supreme head of the church and the universal bishop of the whole world.⁹²⁷ What this entailed and was then rejected by Calvin includes the following key points. First, the popes had the power to command while others were under the necessity to obey. Secondly, all the popes' sanctions (*sanctiones*) were to be so received as if confirmed by Peter's divine voice. Thirdly, provincial synods, because they did not have the presence of the pope, were devoid of force. Fourthly, the popes had the power to ordain the clergy of the church and to summon to their see any that had been ordained elsewhere. What was most intolerable for Calvin was that with this supreme jurisdiction the papacy left no *judicium* on earth to check or restrain their lust (*libido*) if they abused such boundless power. Thus Calvin wrote:

Because of the primacy of the Roman Church, they say, no one is permitted to review (*retractare*) the judgments of this see. Likewise, as judge it will be judged neither by emperor, nor by kings, nor by all the clergy, nor by the people. Indeed, this is very dictatorial (*imperiosus*) because one man set himself up as judge of all and suffer himself to obey the judgment of none.⁹²⁸

This indeed was the greatest worry for Calvin. By allowing the pope to be the supreme head of the church and the universal bishop of the whole world, he would corrupt this power with no one to restrain him. In that case, the pope could exercise tyranny over God's people, lay waste Christ's Kingdom, throw the whole church into confusion, and turn the pastoral office into an office of robbery. Unfortunately, this was what Calvin had found in his review of the history of the papacy.⁹²⁹ Perhaps one can describe Calvin's anxiety in this way: power corrupts, and unbridled absolute power corrupts absolutely.

It should also be underlined that a little later Calvin also rejected the *axioma* that the pope 'cannot err.'⁹³⁰ The claim of papal infallibility, though not fully

⁹²⁷ Cf. Gregory VII, *Dictatus*, 2nd rubric; Gratian, *Decretum* I. 12. 2; 22. 2; II. 24. 1. 15 (PL 187: 62, 128 f., 1270; Friedberg I: 27, 73, 970); Council of Florence, *Decree for the Greeks* (1439) in Dupuis (1996: 285); Cf. *Code of Canon Law* (1983), Canons 331-334. Cf. Markus 1983c: 36-7.

⁹²⁸ *Institutio* (1543): 204. Cf. *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.19. Cf. Innocent III's *Sermo 2 in consecratione* (PL 217. 657-8): 'It was said to me in the prophet, I have set you over nations and over kingdom, to pluck up and to break down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant (Jer. 1. 10). ... Others are called to the role of caring, but only Peter is raised to fullness of power (*plenitudo potestatis*). Now therefore you see who is the servant who is set over the household, truly the vicar of Jesus Christ, the successor of Peter, the Christ of the Lord, the God of Pharaoh; established in the middle between God and man, lower than God but higher than man; less than God, but greater than man; who judges all, and is judged by none.' Cf. also the latest claim made by Pierias on behalf of the papacy: 'A Pontifex indubitatus (i.e., a Pope not accused of heresy or schism) cannot lawfully be deposed or judged either by a council or by the whole world, even if he is so scandalous as to lead people with him by crowds into the possession of hell' (*LW* 44: 132, n. 28; *WA* 6: 336/7-10). Cf. Linberg 1972: 63-4.

⁹²⁹ Cf. the description of the popes in the renaissance up to the reformation in *NCMH* 1: 76-88.

⁹³⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 205.

developed as it was in the First Vatican, was not something new. It was found in Gregory VII's *Dictatus Papae*,⁹³¹ which became a widespread assumption in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and consolidated Rome's position as the highest court of appeal.⁹³² It was given fuller expression in the late thirteenth century among radical Franciscan circles.⁹³³ The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw its supporters among Dominican theologians.⁹³⁴ Cardinal Johannes Turrecremada formulated in his *Summa de ecclesia* (1453) the view that the pope's doctrine 'is guarded from error by his endowment of infallibility.'⁹³⁵ The latest assertion was made by Prierias in his four *fundamenta* underlying his *In presumptuosas Martini Luther conclusiones de potestate pape dialogus* (1518)⁹³⁶ against Luther. With Prierias, papal infallibility was used to answer Luther's Ninety-Five Theses,⁹³⁷ to the effect that the doctrine and practice of indulgences as taught by the pope was infallible.⁹³⁸ Besides Prierias, in Calvin's time, Pighius was the strongest protagonist for papal infallibility.⁹³⁹ Thus, it is clear that Calvin's sensitive reaction, though brief, to the claim of papal infallibility was not just a reaction to a remote and old claim, but to a contemporary one. One can imagine what he would respond if he lived in the 1870s era. As Vatican I had officially defined the dogma of papal infallibility,⁹⁴⁰ Calvin's rejection of this Roman Catholic claim earlier in the sixteenth century certainly has profound implications for our understanding and evaluation of his attitude to the papacy.⁹⁴¹

4.3.10. Calvin's Final *Concessio*

Near the end of Calvin's examination of the origin and growth of the primacy of the Roman see, there is a very important passage from Calvin's pen regarding the

⁹³¹ Cf. *Dictatus Papae* 22 (Gregory VII *Reg. II*: 55a, no. 22; MGH II: 207). For an evaluation of the source and basis of Gregory VII's thought and activity, see Meulenberg 1972: 65-78.

⁹³² Evans 2002: 160. But note that Evans' study accentuates the important and usefulness of a channel of appeal.

⁹³³ Oberman 1993: 193. Tierney (1972: 273)'s magisterial study concludes that the doctrine of papal infallibility was a 'sudden creation' at the end of the thirteenth century.

⁹³⁴ Tavuzzi 1997: 110.

⁹³⁵ Wicks 1983: 43.

⁹³⁶ Tavuzzi 1997: 111. The third *fundamentum* states that the teaching of the Roman church and the pope is 'the infallibility rule of faith, from which even Holy Scripture draws its power and authority.' Oberman (1993: 193) even remarks that Prierias' 'simple, unambiguous doctrine of infallibility' delineated in the four *fundamenta* 'anticipated the results of the First and Second Vatican Councils.'

⁹³⁷ For a detailed discussion, see Tavuzzi 1997: 104-115; cf. Lindberg 1972: 45-64.

⁹³⁸ See the corollary of the *fundamenta*. Cf. Oberman 1993: 194.

⁹³⁹ Fraenkel 1961: 176. Fraenkel's reference refers to Pighius' *Hierarchiae ecclesiasticae assertio libris sex comprehensa* (1538).

⁹⁴⁰ See the indispensable study of O'Gara (1988).

⁹⁴¹ Pelikan (1959: 82-4) discussed what the doctrine of papal infallibility entails for the authority of Scripture and tradition.

Roman bishop. This is his final *concessio*. It is best to quote the passage in order to assess its meaning and significance for Calvin:

Finally, *even though all these things were conceded*, a brand-new conflict with them arises when we say that there is no church at Rome in which benefits of this sort can reside; when we deny that any bishop exists there to sustain these privileges of rank. *Suppose all these things were true (which we have already convinced them are false)*: that by Christ's word Peter was appointed head of the whole church; that he deposited in the Roman see the honor conferred upon him; that it was sanctioned by the authority of the ancient church and confirmed by long use; that the supreme power was always given to the Roman pontiff unanimously by all men; that he was the judge of all cases and of all men; and that he was subject to no man's judgment. Let them have even more if they will. I reply with but one word: *none of these things has any value unless there be a church and bishop at Rome*. This they must concede to me: *what is not a church cannot be the mother of churches*;⁹⁴² *he who is not a bishop cannot be the prince of bishops*. Do they, then, wish to have the apostolic see at Rome? Let them show me a true and lawful apostolate. Do they wish to have the supreme pontiff? Let them show me a bishop⁹⁴³ (italics mine).

Helleman takes Calvin's demand for a true church and true bishop at Rome to imply Calvin's conditional rejection (or acceptance) of papal primacy.⁹⁴⁴ Our study so far does not support this conclusion.⁹⁴⁵ Even the above quoted passage suggests otherwise. As a matter of fact, this passage is the climax of Calvin's *concessio* rhetoric. As pointed out above, Calvin's *concessio* was not designed to express his conditional acceptance (or rejection) of the primacy of the Roman see. It is used as a rhetorical device to expose and ridicule the absurdity of his opponents and to elicit

⁹⁴² Later, in his *Antidote* to the Council of Trent's Canons on Baptism, Calvin rejected this claim by Rome: 'When they proudly call Rome the mother and witness of all Churches, what effrontery? Did she beget in Christ the Greek and Eastern Churches, by which rather she was begotten? What teaching of hers could reach other Churches which had far more learned Bishops?' (CO 7: 498; T&T 3: 179-80).

⁹⁴³ *Institutio* (1543): 206. The English text is quoted from *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.23. Given his knowledge and deep interest in Gregory the Great, Calvin might have in mind Gregory's *Liber Regulae Pastoralis* written at the commencement of Gregory's episcopacy. The subject of Gregory's book is the office of episcopacy (an office of *culmen regiminis* according to him), not the pastoral or priestly office in its wider sense. This is a book, according to Meyvaert (1977a: 5), of 'personal reflection on the nature of his own position [on authority] and an attempt to chart his own course of action.' Gregory wrote of the prominent duties of preaching and spiritual guidance of souls, gave advice on the exercise of discipline and above all, emphasised the kind of exemplary life required of a person of such authority.

⁹⁴⁴ Helleman (1992: 376 [cf. 214-5, 374]): 'For him (Calvin), if the Roman church is not a true church, it is because it has some, although not all, of the elements that the true church needs. If it recovers these missing elements, however, it can again be a true church, and, similarly, the bishop of Rome, if he faithfully does the work which Peter did, can have a true primacy.' Helleman fails to clarify what kind of primacy Calvin could accept before he speaks of a true primacy that Calvin would allow the bishop of Rome to have. Moreover, Helleman (1992: 372) erroneously wrote that 'implicit in [Calvin's] argument is a supposition that Rome was once not only the mother of all churches but also their head.' Helleman has confused Calvin's rhetorical argument with hypothetical statement which was never conceded by Calvin.

⁹⁴⁵ That is why I spent a great coverage to study the 'what' and 'how' of Calvin's criticism in the 1543 *Institutio* in this chapter.

rejection and indignation from the reader toward the Roman church and the Roman bishop. In this passage, Calvin 'supposed' or 'conceded' as true what he already had painstakingly demonstrated as false as well as unacceptable regarding the primacy of the Roman see. Then he demanded Rome to have a true church and a true bishop in order for him to 'accept' that Rome was the mother of all churches⁹⁴⁶ and that her bishop was the supreme pontiff. The purpose of this rhetoric is clear. Calvin was not giving a conditional offer but to direct his readers to join him in ridicule: that there was no true church at Rome and that there was no true bishop in Rome. His sole purpose was to lead his readers to see that his demand for a true bishop and a true church was unfulfillable on the part of Rome.

Calvin's text following the above quoted passage demonstrates this purpose all the more clearly. The Roman church had lost the marks of a true church. She no longer had any lawful ministry. The Roman bishop did not have episcopal quality. If one asked what this episcopal quality was, Calvin answered:

The first task of the bishop's office is to *teach* the people *from God's Word*. The second and next is to administer the sacraments. The third is to admonish and exhort, also to correct those who sin and to keep the people under holy discipline⁹⁴⁷ (*italics mine*).

The bishop of Rome had none of this quality. He did not exercise these functions. In fact, the pope not only failed to teach the Word of God, more damagingly, he had no sound doctrine to teach.⁹⁴⁸ The world was filled with perverse and impious doctrines that flowed from the Roman see.⁹⁴⁹ Worse still, the pontiffs could not tolerate sound

⁹⁴⁶ Leo II (682-683) was 'the proclaimer of the Roman Church as *omnium ecclesiarum mater et caput*.' See Llewellyn (1974: 379). Clearly, again Calvin was dealing with the claims of medieval papacy.

⁹⁴⁷ *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7.23; *Institutio* (1543): 206. Calvin's demand is but a different version of Gregory's *Reg. Past.* II. 6: 'Praeconis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit, ut ante adventum iudicis qui terribiliter sequitur, ipse scilicet clamando gradiatur. Sacerdos ergo si praedicationis est nescius, quam clamoris vocem daturus est praeco mutus?'

⁹⁴⁸ Teaching is the chief among the task of a minister. This is demonstrated with great clarity in Calvin's commentary on John. Commenting on Joh. 21: 15, Calvin wrote, 'It is of importance to observe what are the parts of which the office of *pastor* or *shepherd* consists. ... Those men, therefore, are reckoned to be *Pastors* in the sight of God, who govern the Church by the ministry of the word under Christ, who is their Head. Hence we may easily infer what is the burden which Christ lays on Peter, and on what condition he appoints him to govern his flock' (CTS *Comm.* Joh. 21: 15). Incidentally, I find the conclusion of Flaming (1998: 406)'s PhD thesis comes to a similar conclusion regarding the chief duty of pastors or the apostles' successors: 'Calvin understands the apostles as preaching only what they had received from God and not their own inventions. Thus the successors of the apostles are identified, first, by their fulfillment of the office of preaching, and second, by the doctrine which was taught.'

⁹⁴⁹ Calvin especially singled out for rejection Pope John XXII's doctrine of the death of the soul. He also used this case to ridicule the claim that the pope could not err. See *Institutio* (1543): 208. But Calvin was merely repeating the story or legend about John XXII at his time. See Tyenda 1992: 145-160.

doctrines of the reformers. They did their utmost to stem out sound doctrines and stirred up all kings and princes to suppress them.⁹⁵⁰ They did this because they relentlessly clung to their power and did not allow their kingdom to collapse. Whether in doctrine or morals, among the pontiffs there was but total apostasy.⁹⁵¹

It can be properly asserted that as revealed in Calvin's final *concessio*, the concern for true doctrine in the church and the responsibility of the Roman bishop to teach true doctrine was Calvin's deepest reason for rejecting the papacy. Calvin was certainly not offering any conditional acceptance of papal primacy but was leading his readers to see the total corruption of the papacy in its failure to teach sound doctrine as well as its active prosecution of true doctrine. In fact, like Luther, or more accurately, in following Luther closely on this judgment, in Calvin's analysis Rome had already become the see of the Antichrist.⁹⁵²

4.3.11. The Pope as the Antichrist

The judgment that Rome had become the see of the Antichrist was indeed the climax of Calvin's critique of the Roman see. The fact that Calvin arranged this topic immediately after his final *concessio* indicates this all too well. As his final *concessio* signified the climax of his ridicule, Calvin's calling the pope the Antichrist stamped his view of the nature of the papacy. Only when read in this perspective can we understand the full force of Calvin's discourse here.⁹⁵³

Certainly, as this study has shown, this is not the first time for Calvin to call the Roman Pontiff the Antichrist.⁹⁵⁴ But this is the first time that Calvin gave a full explanation of why he so called the Roman Pontiff. More importantly, he wrote this

⁹⁵⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 207.

⁹⁵¹ Cf. JCSG Sermon 10 (Gal. 2: 11-14): 152-3. Calvin's rejection of papal primacy for the sake of preserving 'the pure doctrine of the gospel' is clearly seen in this passage.

⁹⁵² *Institutio* (1543): 207: 'Fuerit sane olim Roma omnium Ecclesiarum mater: verum ex quo Antichristi sedes fieri coepit, desiit esse id quod erat.'

⁹⁵³ This determination of the nature of the papacy can be reflected from the language Calvin used with regard to the pope in his *Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae de servitute et liberatione humani arbitrii adversus calumnias Alberti Pighii Campensis* (CO 6: 225-404) which Calvin wrote in February 1543. Although the treatise itself contains no discussion of the papacy, still in the preface Calvin did not hesitate to pick the opportunity to call the pope 'the Antichrist of Rome.' Calvin wrote, 'Now that the Lord has by his wonderful power as well as goodness set us free from that frightful tyranny of the Antichrist of Rome, he today assigns to us the responsibility for rebuilding his holy city of Jerusalem, that is, the church' (Calvin 1996: 5). The pope, as the Antichrist of Rome under Calvin's pen, was not only the enemy of the reformers but also of the church. Casual readers of this preface might have passed over Calvin's ferocity or may wonder why Calvin was so rude in his language. But our historical study on Calvin's view of the papacy has shown how Calvin had come to this conclusion. Calvin's words quoted here shows that he held out no hope for reforming the papacy.

⁹⁵⁴ In the disputation in Lausanne (1536), in his reply to Sadoleto (1539), in his 1539 *Institutio*, and in his *Consilium Pauli III et Eusebii Pamphili explicatio* (1541), Calvin had already identified the pope as the Antichrist.

explanation into his *Institutes*.⁹⁵⁵ He was convinced that this identification was based on Scripture itself and on Paul's words in particular. More importantly, he was prepared to show that Paul's words concerning the Antichrist referred effectively to the papacy and 'cannot be understood otherwise.'⁹⁵⁶ The latter was a very important remark. For Calvin, to call the Roman Pontiff the Antichrist was not twisting Paul's words. It indeed was what Paul had actually pointed to. In Calvin's view, the Roman Pontiff as the Antichrist actually fulfilled what Paul had foretold.

Calvin based his interpretation of the Antichrist primarily on Paul's text in the 2 Thessalonians 2, where according to Paul the Antichrist would sit in God's temple (2 Thess. 2: 4). For Calvin this meant that the seat of the Antichrist was in the church, not outside of it. But what did the Antichrist do sitting in God's temple? Calvin wrote that the kingdom of the Antichrist consisted in speaking proud words and blaspheming God.⁹⁵⁷ For Calvin this meant that the Antichrist was exercising tyranny in the church and this tyranny was over souls more than over bodies.⁹⁵⁸ In addition, this tyranny was exercised in such a subtle way that the Antichrist would not wipe out the name of Christ or the church. The name of Christ and the church kept by the papacy became a mask (*larva*) to conceal its tyranny over souls. When this happened, it fulfilled what Paul had foretold to the effect that a falling away was to come, which meant for Calvin that a seat of abomination was raised up and a universal apostasy had seized the church.

Another characteristic that marked the Roman Pontiff to be the Antichrist was his pride. Again, according to 2 Thessalonians 2: 4, the mark of the Antichrist was that he snatched away God's honour in order to take it to himself. This mark became even more evident when such pride led even to the public *dissipatio* of the church. Since the Roman Pontiff 'has impudently transferred to himself what belonged to

⁹⁵⁵ The significance of this should not be underestimated since Calvin from the 1539 edition onward has made his *Institutes* to serve a unique purpose: the *Institutes* was to be used as a text for students of theology, which, as its content shows, is a set of *loci communes* and doctrinal *disputationes*. Anyone, particularly those who were trained as a pastor or teacher, who read the *Institutes* would know who the pope was. The impact of this identification for the perception of the pope for later generations of Protestants is yet to be studied.

⁹⁵⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 207: 'Videmur nonnullis nimis maledici ac petulantes, quum Romanum Pontificem vocamus Antichristum. Sed qui hoc sentiunt, non intelligunt se Paulum immodestiae insimulare, *post quem nos loquimur: imo ex cuius ore sic loquimur*. Ac nequis obiiciat, nos Pauli verba, quae alio pertineant, perperam torquere in Romanum Pontificem, breviter ostendam *non aliter quam de papatu posse intelligi*' (italics mine).

⁹⁵⁷ Dan. 7: 25; Rev. 10: 3, 13: 5. See OS V, 128. OS wrongly marked the text to refer to Rev. 3: 10 instead of Rev. 10: 3.

⁹⁵⁸ This refers to the tyranny of papal laws and doctrines which bind the conscience. With regard to the pope's doctrines, Calvin wrote sarcastically: 'Primum enim arcanæ illius Theologiae, quae inter eos regnat, caput est, Nullum esse Deum. Alterum, Quaecunque de Christo scripta sunt ac docentur, mendacia esse et imposturas. Tertium, Doctrinam de futura vita et ultima resurrectione, meras esse fabulas.' *Institutio* (1543): 208.

God alone and especially to Christ,⁹⁵⁹ Calvin was convinced that the Roman Pontiff is *dux et antesignanus* of that impious and hateful kingdom.⁹⁶⁰

Although Calvin's use of texts, his exegesis, or his theological interpretation could be challenged by modern biblical scholars, he believed that these texts matched point by point with what he saw in the papacy. At the same time, one should also note that Calvin was not alone in calling the pope the Antichrist. The proof texts in 2 Thessalonians 2 and the Book of Revelation had already been used by Luther in his *A Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), in the *Smalcald Articles*, as well as in his treatise of 1539, *On the Council and the Church*.⁹⁶¹ The language of tyranny over souls, the concern for the freedom of conscience, the rejection of the papacy on the basis that the pope had usurped the headship of Christ, the judgment that the papacy was one guise of Satan and indeed originated in Satan, all these were already found in Luther after the Leipzig Disputation.⁹⁶² However, in marking the close relation between Calvin's rejection to the papacy and Luther, one particular attitude should also be noted. Although generally one may say that Luther did share the apocalyptic view of history in regarding the papacy as the Antichrist which was characteristic of his age,⁹⁶³ his determination that the pope was the Antichrist was arrived only gradually.⁹⁶⁴ But when he came to this determination, this signalled his absolute rejection of the papacy, which happened at the time of his break with Rome at the end of 1520 and early 1521.⁹⁶⁵ He maintained this absolute attitude until his death.⁹⁶⁶ Similarly, Calvin, in following Luther closely, also displayed the same attitude, though perhaps without the same fierceness of Luther. That is why he stamped the pope as the Antichrist at the end of his investigation of the origin and

⁹⁵⁹ This obviously refers to the claim that the pope is the head of the church. See the discussion under the second *concessio* above.

⁹⁶⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 207.

⁹⁶¹ *WA* 6: 537. 19-27; *SA* II, 4, 10; *WA* 50: 578.

⁹⁶² Hendrix 1981: 151-2.

⁹⁶³ Hendrix 1981: 151. Pelikan (1984: 82) points out that Calvin also stands in that apocalyptic tradition. On the theme of the papal Antichrist in the Middle Ages and the Reformation, see Cunningham-Grell 2000: 19-91; McGinn 1978: 155-173; McGinn 2000: 79-231; McGinn 1979; Oberman 1993: 67-74; Stadtwald 1991; Bostick 1998; Backus 2000.

⁹⁶⁴ Polman 1932: 173; McGinn 2000: 201. Schoeck 1981: 112; Stadtwald 1991: 238.

⁹⁶⁵ Hendrix 1981: 117-9. Cf. Bizer 1958: 48-55, in which Bizer holds that Luther's polemic displayed a new intensity with his affirmation that the papacy came from the devil. See also Lohse 1999: 332-5. We see this even more clearly in his *The Councils and the Church* (1539), in which Luther completely dispensed with the institution of the papacy in his enumeration of the three hierarchies in the world given by God, (namely, the family, the government, and the church). Luther's *Against the Roman Papacy, an Institution of the Devil* (1545; *LW* 41: 263-376) was even fiercer. Cf. also Lohse 1999: 195.

⁹⁶⁶ Thus McGinn (2000: 201) wrote: 'Once he accepted it, Luther maintained this view until his death with a fierce conviction that was not above scatological invective.' Note that Luther at his deathbed and his last prayer still attacked the papacy. See Lenz 1975: 79-92, esp. 88; Rupp 1983: 256-73; Bizer 1958: 56.

growth of the primacy of the Roman see. This is a determination that should not be taken lightly. We shall continue to see this all the more clearly when we come to examine his later works. One may say that just as, in Pelikan's judgment, Luther's labelling of the pope as the Antichrist was fateful,⁹⁶⁷ so was Calvin's stamping the papacy as the Antichrist in the 1543 *Institutio*. For from that time on Calvin's judgment did not change. His attitude continued in the 1559 *Institutio*⁹⁶⁸ which became a normative attitude for the Reformed tradition for many generations to come.⁹⁶⁹

Calvin's *Institutes* (1536 & 1539), described by Hubert Jedin as the most outstanding systematic work of the whole Reformation but ignored almost completely by controversial Catholic theologians, emerged in the form of the 1543 *Institutio* to be a major challenge to the papacy. In this edition, the future 'arch-enemy of Rome' had spoken.⁹⁷⁰

4.4. Conclusion

The colloquies of 1540-41 provide a fertile ground for our understanding of Calvin's critique of the papacy. It was during these colloquies that Calvin's enmity against the papacy came to fuller expression. Calvin's suspicion and rejection of the papacy found its confirmation first in the pope's objections to these colloquies, then in the papal interventions and control during the discussions, and finally in the final refusal on the part of Roman Catholic collocutors to compromise papal primacy. For the Protestants, papal primacy became the ultimate obstacle in the reformation of the church and religious unity. Throughout the colloquies, Calvin's attitude to the papacy appeared to be consistently uncompromising. Although he did not have the opportunity to participate in public discussions with the Roman Catholic representatives, he certainly had contributed his opinions against the primacy of the pope during the private meetings among Protestant theologians. Then he had the courage to refute the 'fatherly advice' of Paul III. He expressed his deepest enmity against the papacy in his *Epinicion Christo cantatum*. He saw the pope as the greatest hurdle to the resolution of religious conflicts between the Protestants and the Roman

⁹⁶⁷ Pelikan (1984: 86): '... The labelling of the Pope as the Antichrist of the Apocalypse was fateful. For as a consequence of their normative standing as part of the official collection of Lutheran Confessions in the *Book of Concord*, the *Smalcald Articles* were taken to be binding. And for centuries to come, adherence to the identification of the Pope as the Antichrist was one of the distinguishing marks of orthodox Lutheranism.'

⁹⁶⁸ It is worth noting that while his preface to the final version of his *Institutes* was being printed, news reached Calvin from Augsburg that reports were prevalent that he had revolted against the papacy. See Colladon's remarks in his *Vie de Calvin* (CO 21: 88).

⁹⁶⁹ Cf. Polman 1932: 174-6. Cf. also Wendel 1965: 122.

⁹⁷⁰ Jedin 1957: 402.

Catholics in his letters. Moreover, the failures of the colloquies confirmed and sealed Calvin's rejection against the papacy.

But Calvin did not wait for new occasions to arise. In the 1543 *Institutio*, he was responding to the issues raised during these colloquies. Of these, the problem of papal primacy became his major concern. He determined to refute this primacy in this edition. Apart from his desire to present a doctrine of the church, this was indeed the main theme of chapter 8 of the 1543 *Institutio*. In fact, the doctrine of the church and the refutation of the papacy ran alongside each other in chapter 8 of the 1543 *Institutio*. Together they explained the production of the 1543 *Institutio*.

The 1543 *Institutio* is indicative of the fact that Calvin's attitude toward the papacy entered a new phase. His thought had come to full expression as a result of his participation in the religious colloquies. This can clearly be seen in the way he set about writing on the papacy. The heart of Calvin's criticism in the 1543 *Institutio* lay in his critique of papal primacy. He especially opposed this primacy and rejected it in such a way which reflected the situation of the Colloquy of Regensburg. The formulation of Article XIX of the *Regensburg Book* was flatly rejected by Calvin in the 1543 *Institutio*. He proved that his opponents could not use the Old Testament to claim that the church needed the pope to maintain its unity. He also went to the New Testament to refute the Petrine basis of papal primacy. From the portrait of Peter in the New Testament he found was that Peter was accorded a primacy of honour but never a primacy of power. He also employed his rhetorical use of *concessio* in order to advance his critique of the papacy from one step to another until he arrived at a higher level of criticism. Then he went on to show that the primacy of the Roman see was not supported by the record of the ancient church. After undermining the historical foundation of papal primacy, he went on to trace the origin and growth of this primacy. To be sure, Calvin indeed recognised the status of the papacy in the ancient church. In the midst of his refutation and rejection of the papacy, Calvin showed his positive appreciation of Gregory the Great. In this pope, there was no claim to *plenitudo potestatis* developed in later papal history. This *plenitudo potestatis* was what Calvin had in fact been rejecting.

At this point one can see that there is no question of Calvin accepting the primacy of the Roman see. But then Calvin brought forth his final *concessio*, which brought his ridicule of the condition of the papacy to a climax, for there was no true church and no true bishop at Rome. Indeed, this final *concessio* shows why Calvin rejected the papacy so much: the bishop of Rome did not teach sound doctrine but even suppressed the true doctrine of the reformers. That is why Calvin had to assert more firmly that the pope was the Antichrist.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE APEX OF THE CONFLICTS: THE PAPACY AND THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we group together five pieces of works in which Calvin's critique of the papacy reached a climax. If his critique of the papacy in the 1543 *Institutio* was his theological response to the papacy in the aftermath of the religious colloquies of 1540-41, these five pieces represented the application of his theological reflections to the claims of Rome in the concrete situations after the colloquies. It is instructive to find that Jean-François Gilmont also relates these works to Calvin's experience in the colloquies.⁹⁷¹ A perceptive reading of these five documents show that they are important in terms not only of their theological contents but also of the personalities and situations they addressed. Thus, in the *Supplex exhortatio ad Caesarem* (1543), Calvin addressed the Emperor and the princes. In the *Articuli facultatis Parisiensis cum antidoto* (1544), he subjected the doctrinal position of the Sorbonne to critical challenges. In the *Admonitio paterna ad Caesarem cum scholiis* (1545), he openly criticised the pope, this time using his real name. In the *Acta synodi tridentinae cum antidoto* (1547), he climactically rejected the dogmatic definitions of Trent. In the *Interim adutero-Germanum* (1549), he challenged the doctrinal compromise of the *Interim* forced on the Protestants by the Emperor. All these are high-profile personalities or events. In this light, Calvin's critiques of the papacy in these works became all the more significant. It is not difficult to see that together they could help shape and strengthen the perception of the Reformation toward the papacy in the second half of the sixteenth century.

⁹⁷¹ Gilmont 1997: 103: 'Plusieurs autres pamphlets anti-catholiques réagissent à des faits historiques: documents de Paul III, diètes impériales de Ratisbonne et de Spire, articles de la Sorbonne concernant la foi, Concile de Trente, *Interim* d'Augsbourg. Ce groupe qui se situe entre 1541 et 1549 est assez cohérent: le Réformateur y alerte l'opinion protestante contre des menaces venant de l'Église catholique. L'importance relative des événements concernant l'Allemagne est la conséquence de l'expérience des colloques de religion et des contacts étroits que Calvin conserve avec les théologiens de Strasbourg.'

5.2. The Necessity of Reforming the Church (1543)

In order to secure assistance against France and the Turk, Charles V called a diet at Speyer at the end of November 1543.⁹⁷² Before the diet was held, Calvin had received a letter from Martin Bucer on 25 October 1543, in which Bucer discussed the opportunity of involvement on their part in the upcoming diet. Bucer suggested that Calvin should grasp the chance to promote the cause of the Reformation by writing to the Emperor before the diet was held. A book like that would carry a lot of weight and would be read by many others.⁹⁷³ Calvin took the advice of Bucer but he admitted that the task was a difficult one.⁹⁷⁴ On 10 November 1543, he was already at work with the writing.⁹⁷⁵ In mid December 1543, the *Supplex exhortatio ad Carolum V*⁹⁷⁶ was published in Geneva in time because Charles V had postponed the diet until 20 February 1544.⁹⁷⁷ A French translation also came out in the same year.⁹⁷⁸

It was a brilliant piece of work, in which Calvin wrote as one representing all who desired to restore⁹⁷⁹ the church to its true order.⁹⁸⁰ Back in 1541 he was not a collocator in the Colloquy of Regensburg. Now he was entrusted with the task to defend the cause of the Reformation before the Emperor and princes. The book was well received among the reformers. Melancthon and Luther were among its admirers.⁹⁸¹

This work is important for our subject in two ways. First, it certainly enriches our understanding of some of the key issues regarding the papacy which Calvin had been grappling with. Second, it gives us a summary of the central doctrines which Calvin reckoned to be indispensable to the church. Specifying these central or necessary doctrines may allow us to see how wide and deep the gulf was between Calvin and the papacy. Moreover, since Calvin, at the height of his *concessio* rhetoric in the 1543 *Institutio*, demanded that the pope as the bishop of Rome taught sound doctrines in order for him to accept, hypothetical though it was, the pope's primacy, it is important to understand the material content of these doctrines.⁹⁸²

⁹⁷² Jedin 1957: 494n; Eells 1971: 350.

⁹⁷³ Herminjard 9: 86-7; CO 11: 634-5.

⁹⁷⁴ Herminjard 9: 103; CO 11: 647.

⁹⁷⁵ Herminjard 9: 105; CO 11: 642.

⁹⁷⁶ CO 6: 453-534.

⁹⁷⁷ Farel acknowledged receipt of Calvin's book on this date. See Herminjard 9: 155; CO 11, 672.

⁹⁷⁸ For the text see Calvin 1566: 506-79. For an English translation T&T 1: 121-253.

⁹⁷⁹ On the relationship between 'restoration' and 'reformation' for Calvin, see Wilcox 1994: 68-95.

⁹⁸⁰ CO 6: 458; T&T 1: 124.

⁹⁸¹ CO 12: 127; CO 15: 52. Cf. *Bibli. Calviniana* 1: 138-40.

⁹⁸² This may give us concrete ideas of what doctrines to work on if, ecumenically speaking, we are today to bridge the gap between Calvin and the papacy.

5.2.1. Schism and the Papacy

Calvin's purpose in this writing was to 'plead in defense, both of sound doctrine and of the Church.'⁹⁸³ He also endeavoured to show that the diseases of the church were of such a kind that their cure could not await more delay, thus justifying the effort of the reformers to reform the church despite the condemnation of the papacy. To achieve his aims, he took up three points that constituted the outline of his treatise. First, he briefly enumerated the evils that compelled the reformers to seek for remedies. Second, he attempted to show that the particular remedies which the reformers employed were apt and salutary. Third, as a result he demonstrated that the reformation of the church was something that had to be taken by them because there could not be any more delay.⁹⁸⁴

What particularly interests us here is that Calvin reserved considerable space to answer the charges of the Roman Catholics in the second half of the treatise. He did so before the Emperor in order to gain his favour towards the Reformation. Of these charges, we need only pay particular attention to the severest one. This was the charge of schism, the defence of which Calvin left to the end.⁹⁸⁵ Again, this issue was cast in a particular perspective by Calvin. The papacy was directly involved in it. Here one can see again that schism and the papacy were inextricably linked to each other and had involved Calvin personally throughout his career as a reformer. Written after the publication of the 1543 *Institutio*, the present treatise returned once again to these issues in his defense before the Emperor. Calvin saw that the Roman Catholics confused the two issues. They conflated them into one when they said that the proof for the schism was that the reformers had alienated themselves from the Roman see. In the face of this false charge, Calvin could not but rise to defend the cause of the Reformation and subject the Roman Pontiff to criticism.

Ever since the writing of the 1543 *Institutio*, Calvin's formulation of his answer to the charge of schism became sharper. He told the Emperor that one needed not be terrified by the 'specious name of the church' (*speciosus ecclesiae titulus*). This was just 'an empty title of the church' (*inanis ecclesiae titulus*). The prophets in the Old Testament and the apostles had contested with a horrifically masked church of their days (*larvata sui saeculi ecclesia*).⁹⁸⁶ It is no wonder that the same contest arose between the reformers and the *pontifex romanus totaque eius cohors* in his

⁹⁸³ CO 6: 458; T&T 1: 125.

⁹⁸⁴ CO 6: 459; T&T 1: 126.

⁹⁸⁵ CO 6: 518; T&T 1: 211.

⁹⁸⁶ The translation of *larvata sui saeculi ecclesia* in T&T 1: 212 is rendered simply as 'pretended church of their days.' Note that Calvin now has more vocabularies to describe the church of his opponents, which Calvin had denied to be a true church in his former writings.

days.⁹⁸⁷ Yet, again the contrast could not be clearer when the priests of the Jewish church of old still had the ordinary government of the church and a legal priesthood, while the prelates of the present day could not 'prove their vocation by any laws, human or divine.'⁹⁸⁸

More precisely, Calvin firmly maintained that the whole issue of schism must be decided on two questions. The first was to determine which was the true church, and the second, what was the nature of its unity.⁹⁸⁹ Calvin's reflection on the criteria of the true church had already matured in the 1539 *Institutes*. But putting the criteria of the true church and the nature of church unity together in deciding the judgment on the issue of schism represented his sharpened reflection. No doubt, it was intensified by the ecclesiological controversies involving papal primacy as raised in the colloquies of 1540-41. As emphasised before, the uniform characteristics of the true church were the preaching of sound doctrine, or, more specifically, the doctrine of Christ's gospel, and the lawful administration of the sacraments. Since the church under the papacy had none of these marks, there was no question of schism when the reformers departed from this pretended church. As regards the nature of unity, Calvin himself knew how important this issue was. He specifically underlined that one must not separate the church from Christ its Head.⁹⁹⁰ Again, for the foundation of this unity Calvin relied on Ephesians 4, as he had pointed out in the 1543 *Institutio*. But here this foundation was even given clearer articulation as he elaborated on this text.⁹⁹¹

The principle from which Paul derives unity is, that there is 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all' who hath called us into one hope (Ephesians 4: 4, 5). ... Let it, therefore, be a fixed point, that a holy unity exists amongst us, *when, consenting in pure doctrine, we are united in Christ alone*⁹⁹² (italics mine).

Clearly, Calvin was unbendingly emphatic that the nature of unity was found *in Christ alone*, and in concrete terms this unity was expressed in common allegiance to *pure doctrine*. It was at this point that the nature of the true church and the criteria for unity coincided. Apart from Christ and his pure doctrine, all other foundation, even including the office of the pope, were pretentious.

⁹⁸⁷ CO 6: 519; T&T 1: 212.

⁹⁸⁸ CO 6: 519; T&T 1: 213.

⁹⁸⁹ CO 6: 520: 'Proinde, non satis est ecclesiam iactare, sed adhibendum est iudicium: ut, quae sit vera ecclesia, et qualis sit eius unitas, noverimus'

⁹⁹⁰ CO 6: 520: 'Hoc autem primum omnium est, ne ecclesiam a Christo capite suo separemus.'

⁹⁹¹ Again, one can see how much Calvin depends on Ephesians 4 over against the papacy's dependence on the Petrine texts on the issue of Petrine office and church unity.

⁹⁹² CO 6: 521; T&T 1: 214-5.

5.2.2. Primacy and the Doctrine of Christ

Evidently, Calvin's attack on the primacy of the Roman see arose in the context of tackling the problems of schism and the nature of church unity. From the opponents' point of view, the alienation of the reformers from the Roman see was proof of their departure from the communion of the church. But Calvin re-defined the nature of unity on a biblical ground in terms of the church's adherence to Christ as Head and his doctrine, as shown above. Then he immediately drew on the support of Cyprian, whose classic passage in *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate* was utilized again to good purpose. This time Calvin's use of it was articulated in greater clarity and was given stronger effect than when he used it in the 1543 *Institutio*. His reflection on it in his battle against the papacy had dug deeper after the 1543 *Institutio*. To appreciate this it is better to quote Calvin's text at length:

I will only beg your Imperial Majesty, and Most Illustrious Princes, to listen to Cyprian, when he points out a better method of ascertaining the true communion of the Church, than that of referring it, as our opponents do, to the Roman Pontiff alone. For, after placing the source of ecclesiastical concord in the single *episcopatus* of Christ, which episcopal authority he affirms that each bishop, to the extent to which it has been communicated, holds entire, he thus proceeds: 'There is one church, which, by the increase of its fruitfulness, spreads into a multitude, just as there are many rays of the sun, but only one light, many branches in a tree, but one trunk, upheld by its tenacious root; and when many streams flow from one fountain, though, from the copiousness of the supply, there seems a division into parts, still, in regard to the origin, unity is preserved. Separate a ray from the body of the sun, the unity of the light is not divided. Break a branch from a tree, that which is broken cannot germinate. Cut off a stream from the fountain, and it dries up. So, also, the Church of God, irradiated with light, sends its beams over the whole world. Still it is one light which is everywhere diffused. The unity of the body is not violated' (Cyprian, *De Unitat. Ecclesiae*).⁹⁹³

Then Calvin drew out its implications:

Heresies and schisms, therefore, arise when a return is not made to the origin of truth, when neither the head is regarded, nor the doctrine of the heavenly Master preserved. Let them then show us a hierarchy in which the bishops stand out in such a way that they should not refuse to be subject to Christ, that they depend upon him as the only head, and yield to him; in which they cultivate brotherly fellowship with each other, bound together by no other tie than his truth; then, indeed, I will confess that there is no anathema too strong for those who do not regard them with reverence, and yield them the fullest obedience. But is there any thing like this in that false mask of hierarchy on which they pride themselves? One person holds the first rank, in place of Christ—the Roman pontiff, and domineers without law and without measure, after the manner of a tyrant, nay, with more abandoned effrontery than any tyrant. The rest of the body is ordered more according to his standard than that of Christ. That light of which Cyprian speaks is

⁹⁹³ CO 6: 522; T&T 1: 216.

extinguished, the bubbling spring of fountain shut up; in short, the only thing exhibited is the tallness of the tree, but a tree cut off from its root.⁹⁹⁴

As the repeated appeal to Cyprian's text shows, Calvin would in principle accept episcopacy in the church⁹⁹⁵ on the condition that all must depend on Christ as the Head of the church and hold fast his truth.⁹⁹⁶ This also means that Calvin could accept a hierarchy in the church in which the bishops show allegiance to Christ as Head and act in accordance to Him while cultivating brotherly fellowship among each other. The Roman Pontiff, however, was excluded in this hierarchy for he claimed to be the vicar of Christ and held the *principatus* but domineered as a tyrant *absque lege et modo*. In fact, he was again depicted as a destroyer of the church.

For the rest of his arguments, Calvin followed closely the 1543 *Institutio*, though in a more concise manner, which suggests that the 1543 *Institutio* had become his foundational theological statement in his battle against the papacy.⁹⁹⁷ He also continued to employ his *concessio* rhetoric, but with one major addition. Whereas in the 1543 *Institutio*, at the climax of his *concessio*, Calvin would hypothetically accept the primacy of the pope if Rome had a true bishop, now in the present treatise, and again at the climax of his *concessio*, Calvin became even more rhetorical when he ironically conceded that he would accept the Roman Pontiff to be 'a bishop who entirely neglects every part of his duty,' but would still reject his primacy because the Roman Pontiff

is now opposing himself to the reviving doctrines of the gospel, just as if his head were at stake.⁹⁹⁸

This corroborates our previous understanding of the deepest reason for Calvin's rejection of the pope. In the final analysis, the doctrine of the gospel is of uppermost importance for Calvin's acceptance or rejection of the papacy. As articulated in this treatise, the pope's rejection of the doctrine of the Reformation was the deepest

⁹⁹⁴ CO 6: 522-3. Cf. T&T 1: 216-7. T&T 1: 217 translated 'Unus principatum, christi vice, tenet pontifex romanus...' as 'The Roman Pontiff alone as Christ's vicar is in the ascendant...' Note also that Calvin here quoted Cyprian in fuller detail than he did in the 1543 *Institutio*.

⁹⁹⁵ Later, writing to the King of Poland (CO 15: 332) in 1554, Calvin was ready to accept an archbishop, to 'occupy the first place in synods, and cherish a holy unity between his colleagues and brethren' (LJC 3: 104) in the Polish church court. Cf. Burns 1994: 809-21; Walker 1992: 122-3. McNeill (1992: 54-6): 'One of the Calvinist theologians..., the learned Jean Daille, puts in a nutshell Calvin's view of episcopacy: "Calvin honored all bishops that were not subjects of the Pope and that taught the pure and sincere doctrine of the apostles purged from the leaven of human traditions.'

⁹⁹⁶ This is already demonstrated in the 1543 *Institutio* where Calvin studied the state of episcopacy in the ancient church in tracing the rise of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Note that Calvin's view of episcopacy is basically in line with Luther. Cf. Lohse 1999: 179, 296. Cf. Nijenhuis (1994b: 38)'s observation as well.

⁹⁹⁷ CO 6: 523-4; T&T 1: 218-9.

⁹⁹⁸ CO 6: 524; T&T 1: 219.

reason for his rejection of this office.⁹⁹⁹ If the pope did not hold sound doctrine or even rejected the doctrine of Christ, there was no question of accepting the papacy. Thus Calvin boldly wrote:

I deny that See to be Apostolical, wherein nought is seen but a shocking apostasy. I deny him to be the vicar of Christ, who, in furiously persecuting the gospel demonstrates by his conduct that he is Antichrist. I deny him to be the successor of Peter, who is doing his utmost to demolish every edifice that Peter built. And I deny him to be the head of the Church, who by his tyranny lacerates and dismembers the Church, after dissevering her from Christ, her true and only Head. Let these denials be answered by those who are so bent on chaining the hierarchy of the Church to the Romish See, that they hesitate not to subordinate the sure and tried doctrines of the gospel to the authority of the Pope. Yea, I say, let them answer; only do you, Most Invincible Emperor, and Most Illustrious Princes, consider whether, in so calling upon them, the thing I ask is just or unjust.¹⁰⁰⁰

Read in this light, not even a reformed Petrine ministry without a reform of doctrine is sufficient for Calvin to accept or not to deny the primacy of the pope.¹⁰⁰¹ For Calvin, the doctrine of the gospel was of paramount importance in his final evaluation of the papacy. He would not accept the pope's primacy if he did not hold sound doctrine, even if Calvin would accept all the wrongs about the papacy including his conviction that primacy was not of divine right.

5.2.3. *Praecipua doctrina*

The *Supplex exhortatio* also provides us with a clue as to the sort of Christian doctrine that was of paramount importance for Calvin. An understanding of this is crucial for it helps us understand why Calvin rejected the papacy so mercilessly later in the critique of the Council of Trent. On the other hand, we may also gain an insight into the kind of doctrine that in Calvin's estimation the papacy should hold were he to accept the role of the pope in the church, however hypothetical this could be. In the beginning of the treatise when he enumerated the evils of the church which the reformers sought to correct, we find just such a summary of *praecipua doctrina*.¹⁰⁰² Whereas in the 1539 *Institutio* he only briefly enumerated the *praecipua religionis doctrina*, now in the *Supplex exhortatio* he described it at much greater length.¹⁰⁰³

⁹⁹⁹ In his letter to the king of Poland in December 1554, Calvin gave the same reason for rejecting the primacy of the pope. See *LJC* 3: 104-5.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *CO* 6: 524; *T&T* 1: 219-220.

¹⁰⁰¹ Helleman (1992: 404-430) never touches on the doctrinal aspect of the ministry.

¹⁰⁰² *CO* 6: 464, 483. Cf. *CO* 10b: 352. Cf. *Institutes* (1559): 4.1.12., 4.2.1. *CTS Comm.* 1 Cor. 1: 2; 1 Cor. 3: 11.

¹⁰⁰³ Stauffer (1986: 17), as well as Hesselink (1990: 110) certainly is not correct when he wrote that Calvin did not want 'to enumerate all the fundamental articles,' because Calvin gave such a list in the *Supplex exhortatio*. Partee (1997: 99-100) has also failed to note Calvin's *praecipua doctrina* as laid

Calvin used a powerful image to represent this *praecipua doctrina*: the body and soul of the church.¹⁰⁰⁴ In order to rid the church of evils and heal the church of its illness, one must identify the body and the soul of the church properly. The 'body' of the church refers to the sacraments and government of the church, under which are included 'the rule in the Church, the pastoral office, and all other matters of order.' That these represent the 'body' of the church explains why Calvin invested a great deal of energy in the 1543 *Institutio* to expose the evils of the pastoral office, the government and jurisdiction of the Roman church in the present and in the past in his combat against the papacy.

The 'soul' of the church refers to (1) the knowledge of 'the legitimate worship of God' (*cultum Dei legitimum*) and (2) the knowledge of 'the source from which salvation is to be obtained.' The safety of the church depended on doctrine as much as the body of man depended on the soul.¹⁰⁰⁵ We need not concern ourselves with this 'body' of the church, as the 1543 *Institutio* has made clear how the papacy had corrupted the government of the church. Our task is to outline what exactly the 'soul' of the church consisted of in order to determine the kind of *praecipua doctrina* that according to Calvin was indispensable to the life of the church, and that, by implication and in Calvin's estimation, the Roman bishop should uphold and teach.

Of the first *praecipua doctrina*, Calvin wrote:

Let us now see what is meant by the legitimate worship of God. Its chief foundation is to acknowledge Him to be, as He is, the only source of all virtue, justice, holiness, wisdom, truth, power, goodness, mercy, life, and salvation; in accordance with this, to ascribe and render to Him the glory of all that is good, to seek all things in Him alone, and in every want have recourse to Him alone.¹⁰⁰⁶

In this legitimate worship Calvin also emphasised that the Lord should 'assert the full right of his dominion'¹⁰⁰⁷ and that the church must base its worship on the rule of the Word (*verbi sui norma*).¹⁰⁰⁸ With this conception of the legitimate worship of God, one can understand the jealousy Calvin had for the rulership of God in His church, his scriptural principle, as well as his uncompromising anti-Nicodemism.¹⁰⁰⁹ It was

down in the *Supplex exhortatio* when he writes, 'Unfortunately, Calvin does not identify exactly the doctrine which constitute the sum of religion ... In short, Calvin offers no precise conceptual guidance for identifying the truth in such a way that disagreements about its nature could be adjudicated.' Evidently, Partee (1997: 105) only relies on the 1559 *Institutes*.

¹⁰⁰⁴ CO 6: 459-60; T&T 1: 126-7.

¹⁰⁰⁵ CO 6: 460; T&T 1: 127.

¹⁰⁰⁶ CO 6: 460; T&T 1: 127.

¹⁰⁰⁷ CO 6: 460; T&T 1: 127.

¹⁰⁰⁸ CO 6: 476; T&T 1: 149.

¹⁰⁰⁹ This confirms Prof. David F. Wright's conclusion that the reason for Calvin's uncompromising anti-Nicodemism is due to his passion for true worship of God. This passion 'provides a consistent core to Calvin's anti-Nicodemism, from the detailed casuistry of the *Epistolae duae* to the rebuttal of

also this conception that formed the theological foundation for criticising the primacy of the Roman see, rejecting Rome's insistence that the pope should rule in the church.

The second *praecipua doctrina* concerns the doctrine of salvation. This consisted of three constituent parts, all of which Calvin found to be opposed to the teaching of the papacy. The first concerns the doctrine of original sin and the bondage of the will. Calvin upheld a doctrine of the original and hereditary depravity (or viciousness) of our nature (*originalis et haereditaria naturae nostrae vitiositas*).¹⁰¹⁰ This is a depravity which

begets in us distrust, rebellion against God, pride, avarice, lust, and all kinds of corrupt concupiscence, and making us averse to all rectitude and justice, holds us captive under the yoke of sin.¹⁰¹¹

Calvin was emphatic that this conception of original sin differed greatly from that of the Schoolmen,¹⁰¹² whom he described as trying to explain away this 'fatal disease' (*exitialis morbus*), reducing it to little more than excess bodily appetite and lust,¹⁰¹³ and 'modify[ing] its effects, maintaining that the powers of man are only weakened, not wholly depraved.'¹⁰¹⁴

Closely allied to this doctrine of original sin is Calvin's emphasis on the reality of the bondage of the will, which, he affirmed, was taught or recovered by Luther and other reformers.¹⁰¹⁵ For Calvin, this doctrine of the bondage of the will pertains especially to man's inability to procure salvation for himself.¹⁰¹⁶ Laden with original sin, man has no virtue of his own.¹⁰¹⁷ He does not have a will to do good or

internalized spiritualism in *Response à un certain hollandois* of 1562 (CO 9: 581-628).' David F. Wright, 'Why was Calvin So Severe a Critic of Nicodemism?' (pp. 34-5) [To be published].

¹⁰¹⁰ Cf. Calvin 1961: 90.

¹⁰¹¹ CO 6: 464; T&T 1: 133.

¹⁰¹² It is of interest to note van Asselt-Dekker (2000: 511)'s opinion that while in the Latin edition of his *Institutes* Calvin attacked 'the scholastics,' in the French edition of 1560, the word was translated mostly with 'théologiens Sorbonniques.' The implication is that 'in the relevant passages, he was attacking those theologians only, rather than all medieval scholastics.' Muller (2001: 124) also points this out. During my oral examination, Prof. Anthony N. S. Lane opined that 'the French translation replaces scholastics by Sorbonists may indicate that the French is contextualised for French laity rather than scholastics for Calvin only means Sorbonists' (This is an exact quote of Prof. Lane's note given to me for consideration). This appears to be a sound explanation of Calvin's translation.

¹⁰¹³ CO 6: 465; T&T 1: 134.

¹⁰¹⁴ CO 6: 483; T&T 1: 159

¹⁰¹⁵ Cf. CO 6: 465; T&T 1: 134. Cf. McSorley (1970: 113): 'Luther's original reformation protest was directed precisely against Biel and others who held that the sinner, by his own unaided natural powers of reason and free will, could initiate—and to a certain extent merit! (*de congruo*)—the grace of justification.'

¹⁰¹⁶ For Calvin as for Luther, man has freedom in temporal but not in eternal matters. Cf. Green 1984:

51.

¹⁰¹⁷ Cf. CO 6: 465; T&T 1: 134.

any ability of his own to serve God. The consequence is that man must depend for his salvation entirely on the grace of Christ.¹⁰¹⁸ For this reason, Calvin combated tirelessly his opponents' teaching on freewill.¹⁰¹⁹ For Calvin, asserting freewill reflects a shallow understanding of the depth of depravity of fallen human nature. It also allows man a role in procuring his own salvation by co-operating with the grace of Christ.

The second constituent part in the doctrine of salvation concerns Christ and justification. Christ is the only priest, who reconciles us to the Father, and His death is the only sacrifice by which sin is expiated, the divine justice satisfied, and a true and perfect righteousness acquired. With such a view of Christ and His work, Calvin does not allow anyone to divide the work of salvation between himself and Christ. The believer is justified by mere gratuitous favour in the sight of God.¹⁰²⁰ Our salvation does not depend partly on God's grace and partly on man's works. The righteousness of faith means that righteousness before God is based wholly on gratuitous mercy.¹⁰²¹ On this basis Calvin rejected all imaginative satisfaction and treasury of the church.¹⁰²² He was emphatic that even the reward of works was not based on their own merit or value, but rather on the mere benignity of God.¹⁰²³

The third constituent part in the doctrine of salvation concerns assurance. As the believer is

instructed in the grace of Christ, and in the fruits of his death and resurrection, he rests in him with firm and solid confidence, feeling assured that Christ is so completely his own, that he possesses in him righteousness and life.¹⁰²⁴

But since the Roman Catholic teaching conjoins the grace of God with the believer's works, making confidence of obtaining acceptance dependent on their worthiness, it has in fact destroyed this confidence.¹⁰²⁵ This is also unacceptable to Calvin and he denounced this teaching vehemently.¹⁰²⁶ As we shall see, this enumeration formed the basis for Calvin to reject the doctrinal decisions of the Council of Trent, which made unmistakably clear to Calvin's eyes the irreparable damage done to the church by the papacy.

¹⁰¹⁸ Cf. *CO* 6: 483; *T&T* 1: 159

¹⁰¹⁹ Cf. Lane (1981b: 72-90); Lane (1998: 16-45); see also the Introduction in Calvin (1996: xiii-xxxiv); Schulze 1971.

¹⁰²⁰ *CO* 6: 465; *T&T* 1: 134.

¹⁰²¹ *CO* 6: 484; *T&T* 1: 161.

¹⁰²² *CO* 6: 485-6; *T&T* 1: 163-4.

¹⁰²³ *CO* 6: 486; *T&T* 1: 164.

¹⁰²⁴ *CO* 6: 465; *T&T* 1: 134.

¹⁰²⁵ *CO* 6: 506; *T&T* 1: 193.

¹⁰²⁶ Commenting on Calvin's view on works, Bray (1973: 80) writes, 'Thus, works are a sign of election, but they are inferior signs because of the sinfulness of all men.'

5.2.4. The Pope and Reform

In presenting the *praecipua doctrina*, Calvin indeed showed that the soul of the church, not just the body itself, was in extreme illness and needed healing or reform.¹⁰²⁷ However, this was exactly something the pope did not do. As a result, Calvin explained to the Emperor, what the reformers had done was to purify the church 'from corruption, both in doctrine and ceremonies, without waiting for the command of the Roman Pontiff.'¹⁰²⁸ This the reformers did because they had no more hope of waiting for the pope to reform. This is another important point for Calvin. What Calvin said was not without good evidence. He pointed out that Luther at first humbly besought the pope to carry out reform, but his supplication was to no avail.¹⁰²⁹ In the final analysis, Calvin saw that the pope was the real obstacle to reform. For one thing, the Roman Pontiff tried to stop any one assembling any council at all. Although in return he promised to call a General Council,¹⁰³⁰ Calvin saw that this in fact was a pretence to cover up his unwillingness to reform. Calvin's reaction was on two fronts. First, he appealed to the Emperor to look at the fact that the church was facing the greatest peril. The most miserable thing of all, if action was not taken, was that a breaking up of the church was in sight. And if asked whether it would be unprecedented for the Germans alone to undertake this reformation, Calvin again appealed to the evidence of the ancient church, when it was customary to call a provincial synod as often as new heresy arose or when the church was disturbed by dispute.¹⁰³¹ The battles against the Donatists and the Pelagians among the African bishops were apt examples. Augustine, by the authority of the Emperor, did not hesitate to treat the Donatist controversy in a provincial synod. The African bishops anathematized the impious dogma of Pelagius and 'freely decided and defined what ought to be held on the subjects of original sins and regenerating grace,' without asking for the counsel of the pope (Innocent I).¹⁰³² In Ambrose's controversy with Auxentius on the primary article of the divinity of Christ, the Emperor did not appeal to a General Council, but called a provincial

¹⁰²⁷ CO 6: 509; T&T 1: 198.

¹⁰²⁸ CO 6: 524; T&T 1: 220.

¹⁰²⁹ CO 6: 524-5; T&T 1: 220.

¹⁰³⁰ CO 6: 525; T&T 1: 221. In saying this Calvin must have in mind the pope's *Consilium admodum paternum* (1540) and his own reply in *Consilium Pauli III et Eusebii Pamphili explicatio* (1541), as discussed above.

¹⁰³¹ CO 6: 526-7; T&T 1: 223.

¹⁰³² CO 6: 527; T&T 1: 224.

synod to which the Roman Pontiff did not come in person or send any of his presbyters.¹⁰³³

Secondly, Calvin assumed that even if all obstacles to assembling a General Council were removed, yet a General Council *under the Roman Pontiff* could still not be a channel to reform the church. The reason was that the pope would be in control of the Council, for it was not in his private interest to restore the church to true order according to the strict standard of the gospel. Thus Calvin wrote,

Can we hope that those who are constantly plotting to prevent the fallen kingdom of Christ from again rising in the world will give a helping hand to raise it up, and advance it?¹⁰³⁴

This view of the papacy certainly reveals Calvin's hopelessness in expecting any thing good from its reform.

5.3. Debating with the Faculty of Theology of Paris (1544)

5.3.1. The Faculty of Theology of Paris

In 1542, King Francis I commissioned the Faculty of theology of the University of Paris to draw up a Confession of Faith as part of a program to stop the spread of Lutheran teaching in France.¹⁰³⁵ The result was twenty-five Articles of Faith drawn up by the doctors of the Faculty. These were received and approved by the king on 12 March 1543. On 23 July 1543, a royal edict gave them the force of law to be adopted for all of France.¹⁰³⁶ In a letter to Viret in mid-March 1544, Calvin wrote

I had heard that you were thinking of something against the Sorbonne articles, which I earnestly would desire may be true; but Ribitti replied that he had heard nothing of it. I wish therefore you would do so, and that you would write me back word as soon as it is done. There are very many indeed in France who desire to see it. I have been requested by some of them. You can, if you will, relieve me of this undertaking.¹⁰³⁷

Eventually it was Calvin who undertook this task of rebutting these articles. In June 1544, he published the *Articuli facultate parisiensis cum antidoto*.¹⁰³⁸ In this writing

¹⁰³³ CO 6: 528; T&T 1: 225-6. See that he was so skilful to use the two great fathers and the authority of the Emperor at this point.

¹⁰³⁴ CO 6: 529; T&T 1: 227.

¹⁰³⁵ Farge 1985: 208.

¹⁰³⁶ *Bibl. Calviniana* 1: 157. Cf. Farge 1985: 209.

¹⁰³⁷ CO 11: 687; Cf. I have slightly modified the translation of LJC (1: 408).

¹⁰³⁸ *Articuli a facultate sacrae theologiae Parisiensis determinati super materiis fidei nostrae hodie controversis. Cum antidoto*. CO 7: 1-44.

he treated the whole proceeding of the composition of the Articles of Faith as the 'conspiracy' (*conspiratio*) of the wicked.¹⁰³⁹

As these articles contain statements of faith regarding the church and the papacy, it is instructive to see how Calvin replied to these formulations. But before we do this, it is necessary to put them in a proper context so that we may understand more fully the significance of Calvin's critique. A few words should be said about, first, the authority and special position of the Faculty of theology in the time of Calvin, and second, what these articles represent.¹⁰⁴⁰

First, the theologians of Paris were seen as an arbiter of faith and guardian of doctrine. In August 1525, the lawyer Jean Bochard described the Faculty of Theology of Paris before the Parliament of Paris as a divinely inspired source of doctrine and a mediator of God's truth.¹⁰⁴¹ This was not just the personal opinion of Bochard, but as Farge puts it, 'this notion was familiar enough to the lawyer's audience, whether friends or critics of the Faculty.'¹⁰⁴²

Moreover, the Faculty was not mere consultant for Christendom but played the role of inquisitor and teacher. It had a long history of active prosecution of heresy and heretics even within the time span of 1500-1544. Cases were pursued, to name but a few, against Martin Luther, and even Lefèvre, and Erasmus. In the 1540s, the Faculty began to draw up formal lists of book to be censored.¹⁰⁴³

One more spectacular point about the Faculty is that its authority was likened to the pope. Pierre Lizet, *avocat du roi*, wrote:

The censures and doctrinal judgments of the said Faculty of Theology are of such authority that one must ... have full faith in them until such time as the Church duly convened might determine otherwise. Because the said Faculty over and above all others has this power from the Pope, and [the doctors] are called the defenders and soldiers of the faith, having the faculties to pursue heretics, and, in another passage, [are called] the pillars of the Church.¹⁰⁴⁴

One should also bear in mind that the Faculty had a reputation for conciliarism. This, however, does not mean that the Faculty did not uphold the primacy of the Roman see. This recognition of papal primacy can be clearly reflected in the *Articles* of 1543.

Secondly, these twenty-five articles were not just some *ad hoc* doctrinal definition in France in the 1540s. The theologians were in fact defining what

¹⁰³⁹ CO 7: 43.

¹⁰⁴⁰ I am indebted to Farge (1985)'s analysis.

¹⁰⁴¹ Farge 1985: 1.

¹⁰⁴² Farge 1985: 1.

¹⁰⁴³ Higman 1979.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Farge 1985: 239.

Catholic preachers should preach and what Catholics should believe, in order to guard the Catholics from following the errors of the Lutherans.¹⁰⁴⁵ As Farge puts it, these articles

highlight those doctrines and practices of the Church which the Faculty, after closely monitoring the rise of heterodoxy in France for twenty-five years, regarded as integral to the essential deposit of faith.¹⁰⁴⁶

They received wide circulation after publication,¹⁰⁴⁷ and represented a concrete, positively elaborated 'statement of essential beliefs which would be used to define orthodoxy in France for several decades.'¹⁰⁴⁸

Read against this background, Calvin's critique of the *Articles* was of great significance. He was not criticising just certain Catholic theologians but was indeed taking to task the doctrinal position of an institution so honoured in Christendom. Viewed retrospectively, he was refuting some definitive articles of the Roman Catholic faith in France before the Council of Trent. In particular, he was also rejecting the official view regarding papal primacy defined by the Faculty at that time.

In the following, we shall limit our discussion to Calvin's critique of the articles on the church, councils, and primacy of Roman see.

5.3.2. Calvin's Critique of the Faculty's Articles

Of all the twenty-five articles under Calvin's review, none was agreeable to Calvin. He discussed them one by one, beginning with a citation of each article. Then he appended a so-called 'proof' to each, which was a comment made 'selon le jargon scolastique.'¹⁰⁴⁹ This at first sight seemed to be supporting the article under review but, as the reader read on, soon turned out to be its ridicule—another powerful rhetorical means of Calvin to refute his opponents.¹⁰⁵⁰ Finally, he added his antidote, which was a forthright refutation of each article.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Because of this, Farge marked 1543 as the end of his study in his book.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Farge 1985: 208.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Farge 1985: 211.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Farge 1985: 160. As Farge (1985: 212) remarked, as late as the mid-eighteenth century, officials of the church of Paris were still taking the oath in support of the 1543 articles.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Bibl. Calviniana* 1: 157.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Thus Henry Beveridge, the English translator of this work, commented that the method Calvin used was a kind of *reductio ad absurdum*. See *T&T* 1: vii-viii.

5.3.2.1. *On the Church and its Authority*

Article XVIII on the church and its authority reads:

Every Christian must firmly believe, that there is on earth one universal visible Church, incapable of erring in faith and morals, and which, in things which relate to faith and morals, all the faithful are bound to obey.¹⁰⁵¹

The church in this article was seen, first, as a visible entity, and second, as incapable of erring in matters relating to faith and morals.

In the 'proof' Calvin first showed how the Faculty would prove the doctrine of a visible church. In the church there is the hierarchy with the pope as the head. As the hierarchy is the infallible sign of the church and as it is at all time visible, therefore the church must be visible. There is a second proof of this visibility based on the fact that there is a perpetual succession of the popes. At this point Calvin's irony entered the scene as he pointed out that 'the election of Pope Joan is a greater difficulty for it appears that then some interruption took place.'¹⁰⁵² This interruption took place again in the time of the schism in which the anti-popes dominated the scene. It was further complicated by the struggle between Eugenius IV and the Council of Basle: the pope was deposed on a charge of heresy and then returned when he proved himself to be more powerful.¹⁰⁵³ 'In this way,' Calvin ironically remarked, 'a perpetual order of succession will remain.'¹⁰⁵⁴

As regards the second main point of the proposition, that is, that the church cannot err in matters relating to faith and morals, Calvin offered three 'proofs' for the Faculty. The first is a proof from authority. That is, whatever the Roman church has determined is authoritative.¹⁰⁵⁵ The reader immediately knows that it is not a proof at all because the argument actually amounts to saying that the church cannot err because the Roman church has determined that the church cannot err.¹⁰⁵⁶ The second proof looks a little better. Since the church is immediately directed by the Holy Spirit, and since the Holy Spirit cannot err, therefore, consequently, neither can the church err. The third proof is an argument from necessity.

¹⁰⁵¹ CO 7: 29; cf. T&T 1: 101.

¹⁰⁵² For the Protestant interest in Pope Joan in the Reformation era, see Boureau 2001: 251-4.

¹⁰⁵³ Cf. Walsh 1997: 114-119.

¹⁰⁵⁴ CO 7: 30; T&T 1: 102.

¹⁰⁵⁵ CO 7: 30: '...quod ratum est quidquid determinavit ecclesia romana.' T&T 1: 102.

¹⁰⁵⁶ MacLeod (1989: 52-3) applies a similar critique to present-day Catholic concept of authority: 'This says, presumably without blushing, that something is right simply because the church has always done it (or thought it and taught it) ...'

For since it is to herself that the Church looks in determining all things, nothing would be certain in faith if our doubts were not resolved by her infallibility.¹⁰⁵⁷

The reader again sensed that this was not a proof at all. But this infallibility was urgently needed since the Lutherans had in their favor 'an appearance of truth'. If this infallibility was not asserted, the church would have been vanquished a hundred times by them.

In the antidote, Calvin set out to refute this article in a more positive manner. First, he acknowledged that there was a universal church. He even went further to assert that this universal church had existed from the beginning of the world and would continue to exist even to the end. But the appearance by which this universal church might be recognized was the key issue. While the Roman Catholics asserted the hierarchy and the perpetual succession of the popes to be the infallible sign of the church, Calvin, on the other hand, asserted that the sign of the church was in the Word of God. Moreover, and he put it graphically by appealing to Matthew 24: 28,

since Christ (not the pope) is her head, we maintain that, as a man is recognized by his face, so she is to be beheld in Christ.¹⁰⁵⁸

The church was seen where Christ as Head appeared and where his Word was heard.¹⁰⁵⁹ If these conditions did not exist, the church would not be discernible.¹⁰⁶⁰ This view of the visibility of the church, by implication, already carried a severe judgment on the papacy because for Calvin the pope had replaced Christ as the head of the church. In the papal church, one could not see the face of Christ but only the face of the pope.

As regards the claim that the church cannot err, Calvin corrected his opponents by retorting that

she errs not, because she follows the truth of God for her rule. But if she recedes from this truth, she ceases to be spouse, and becomes an adulteress.¹⁰⁶¹

The infallibility of the church is not something intrinsic or permanent. It is contingent on the church's faithfulness to Christ and her adherence to the truth of God.¹⁰⁶²

¹⁰⁵⁷ CO 7: 30; T&T 1: 102.

¹⁰⁵⁸ CO 7: 30; T&T 1: 102. Cf. Eck, *De primatu Petri* 1: 9, in which Eck wrote that Peter was the one 'who wears the face of the Church [*persona ecclesiae*].' The latter sentence is quoted in Bagchi (1991: 57).

¹⁰⁵⁹ CO 7: 31; T&T 1: 103.

¹⁰⁶⁰ At this point one can see that even in 1544 the visible church was not a defining attribute of the church. The visibility of the church is contingent on its relationship to the Word, which means that the church can be seen only if the pure preaching of the Word of Christ is maintained, otherwise she is not discernible.

¹⁰⁶¹ CO 7: 31; T&T 1: 103.

In conclusion, Calvin appealed to Hilary's opinion on that subject:

We do wrong in venerating the church of God in roofs and edifices. Is it doubtful that in these Antichrist will sit?¹⁰⁶³

For Calvin, the church under the papacy had already fallen into this situation. For the church had made the hierarchical structure her face, had allowed the pope to be her head, and had asserted her infallibility by referring to her own authority without depending on the Word of God.

5.3.2.2. On the Authority of the Councils

Article XXII on the authority of the Councils reads:

It is certain that a General Council, lawfully convened, representing the whole Church, cannot err in its determination of faith and practice.¹⁰⁶⁴

This appears to have nothing to do with the pope. But Calvin's 'proof' clearly reveals his sensitivity regarding their connection. Pretending to be writing on behalf of the Faculty, he wrote,

A General Council, *always, and without exception* ('semper et sine exceptione'), represents the Church, which otherwise would not be visible (*italics mine*).

Then he added,

But remember, it must be a Council in which the pope *presides* ('praesideo')¹⁰⁶⁵ (*italics mine*).

As a matter of fact, he only brought out what was taken for granted in the article. Thus, according to the Faculty, a General Council presided by the pope always, and without exception, represented the church so that its determination in faith and practice could not err. In this way Calvin allowed readers to judge whether this is sufficient or not. But immediately he criticised its assumption by pointing out the historical facts. The Council of Nicea did not have the pope presiding in it. Pretending to speak on behalf of the Faculty again, he tried to explain away the difficulty this historical fact had created for the pope. The reason he gave was that at that time when the Council was convened the church was 'not being well ordered'

¹⁰⁶² One can readily see how the idea of infallibility separates Calvin from Vatican I. The inference can easily be drawn that without doubt Calvin would reject the decision of Vatican I on the dogma of the infallibility of the pope. Cf. Ganoczy (1968b: 425-6) as mentioned in Chapter One (1.3.).

¹⁰⁶³ CO 7: 31; T&T 1: 103.

¹⁰⁶⁴ CO 7: 34; T&T 1: 107.

¹⁰⁶⁵ CO 7: 34: 'Sed intellige in quo praesideat papa.' T&T 1: 107.

and it was also due to 'the rudeness of the times'¹⁰⁶⁶ that the Pope Sylvester I was not accorded the first place in this council. Here Calvin was allowing the readers to judge whether the pope's place in this Council was an exception or whether this first General Council served to prove that the pope had indeed occupied no primacy in councils of the early church.¹⁰⁶⁷

Calvin, again pretending to speak on behalf of the Faculty, pointed out that for a council to be lawfully assembled 'it is sufficient that the legal forms and solemnities be duly observe.'¹⁰⁶⁸ The intention of the prelates, their education, and even their faithfulness to sound doctrine did not affect the council. Hence the council, as long as it fulfilled its legal requirements, could not err. The reader can intuitively understand the irony of such position.

In the antidote Calvin set out to refute this view of the council more positively. He explained the conditions of a lawfully assembled council:

Christ promises that he will be in the midst of those who are assembled, provided it be in his name (Matth. 18: 20). Therefore, faith is not to be placed in all kinds of councils indifferently, but in such only as shall appear to have been assembled in the name of Christ.¹⁰⁶⁹

For Calvin legal procedures or status do not guarantee a true council. A council must be assembled in the name of Christ.¹⁰⁷⁰ But what does 'in the name of Christ' mean? For Calvin, only when Christ truly *presides* ('*praesideo*') in a council can it be said that it is assembled in his name. The verb used was quite intentional as it contrasts with the claim that it should be the pope that *presides* as laid down in the 'proof.' Thus it is not the pope but Christ that must preside in a council so that it is truly governed by the Holy Spirit and hence is led into the truth. Calvin was adamant that the pope's usurpation of Christ's place in the council must be corrected. Thus, whether it is in the church or in a council, Christ must preside as Head. To put it in another way, if Christ does not preside in a council, the council must err:

But those Councils over which Christ does not preside are governed by their own sense, and so can do nothing but err, and lead into error.¹⁰⁷¹

In this way Calvin never committed himself to say that councils cannot err, for councils depend on Christ for their legitimacy and validity.

¹⁰⁶⁶ CO 7: 34: '... hoc fuit ex ruditate temporum, quum non bene formata esset ecclesia.' T&T 1: 107.

¹⁰⁶⁷ In the 1543 *Institutio*, Calvin used the first Ecumenical Council to prove that the pope has no primacy over church councils in the early church.

¹⁰⁶⁸ CO 7: 34.

¹⁰⁶⁹ CO 7: 35; T&T 1: 108.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Cf. Evans 1992: 249.

¹⁰⁷¹ CO 7: 35: '... Quibus autem non praesidet Christus, ea regi proprio sensu: et ita nihil posse quam errare, et in errorem ducere.' T&T 1: 108.

We maintain, moreover, that in some councils, though guided at the outset by the Spirit of God, the will of the flesh creeps in and turns them aside from the truth. For it is in Christ alone that the fullness of the Spirit dwells, and to each man grace is given in measure (John 1: 16; I Cor. 12: 5, 27; Eph. 4: 7).¹⁰⁷²

In Calvin's view, the church and councils sustain a dynamic relationship to Christ. Apart from Christ all speech of the legality, validity, or even 'infallibility' of councils is in vain. For Calvin, the Faculty's (supposed) insistence that the pope must preside in Councils had completely missed the point.

5.3.2.3. On Papal Authority

Immediately following the article on the authority of councils, Article XXIII carries a strong affirmation of papal authority. It reads,

Nor is it less certain that there is by divine right in the Church militant of Christ a Supreme Pontiff, whom all Christians must obey, and who, indeed, has the power of granting indulgences.¹⁰⁷³

This article was clearly framed with the indulgence controversy and the divine right controversy in mind.¹⁰⁷⁴ One can see that the Faculty of Theology of Paris would not give up the divine right claim for papal authority. It was also this uncompromising attitude that received the lengthiest reply from Calvin, which was even one fourth longer than his reply to Article IV, on justification. This simply reflects how predominantly important the issue of the primacy of the Roman see was for him. In response, he flatly rejected the pope's primacy and authority completely.

There is no need to repeat Calvin's criticism here for he only utilised the arguments formulated in the 1543 *Institutio* in a more precise form, ranging from the discussion of Pauline texts to using the fathers as counter examples against the primacy of Rome. What deserves a second remark is that towards the end of his argument Calvin used his *concessio* again:

Finally, even if every thing else were granted to the Romans, nevertheless, he cannot be the chief of the bishops who is not a bishop at all.¹⁰⁷⁵

If this *concessio* seems to be too brief to warrant any correct interpretation, one should go back to his final *concessio* in the 1543 *Institutio*. There Calvin's *concessio*

¹⁰⁷² CO 7: 35 T&T 1: 108.

¹⁰⁷³ CO 7: 35: 'Nec minus certum, unum esse iure divino summum in ecclesia Christi militante pontificem, cui omnes Christiani parere tenentur: qui quidem potestatem habet et indulgentias conferendi.' T&T 1: 108. For other versions of this article, see Farge 1985: 233.

¹⁰⁷⁴ For a discussion, see Bagchi 1991: 17-68.

¹⁰⁷⁵ CO 7: 39: 'Postremo, etiam si dentur omnia Romanensibus, non tamen summus episcoporum esse potest, qui non sit episcopus.' T&T 1: 113.

clearly indicate the chief reason for his rejection of the primacy of the Roman see. His reason for rejection was not merely based on a pastoral concern. The chief deficiency of the Roman bishop was that he did not teach true doctrine and he had no sound doctrine to teach. The reiteration of this *concessio* in his antidote here serves only too well to show Calvin's paramount concern, which is predominantly doctrinal in nature.

5.4. Critique of the *Admonitio* of Paul III (1545).

The Diet of Speyer which the Emperor promised to hold at the end of November 1543 was finally opened on 20 February 1544.¹⁰⁷⁶ The final recess, dated 10 June 1544, saw the Emperor's political goals achieved. Promises were made to assist the Emperor in his war against the French and the Turks. In exchange for this support from the Protestants, the Emperor announced that a complete settlement to the religious question could be achieved by calling a 'general, Christian and free Council.'¹⁰⁷⁷ It was also decided that given the uncertain situation of recent events, another Imperial Diet should be held in the autumn or winter of the same year for the purpose of drawing up a plan for a 'Christian Reformation.' This diet would have to be regarded as a council for the German nation. One need not suppose that the Emperor had made genuine concessions to the Protestants. For after Charles V defeated the French troops and eventually forced Francis I to sign a peace treaty on 14 September 1544, he also made a secret treaty on 19 September in which Francis I promised to send representatives to the council. He also promised to use his military force against the Protestants if the Emperor required him to do so.¹⁰⁷⁸

However, Paul III was upset by the decisions of the Diet of Speyer. He responded by instructing Cardinals Crescenzo, Cortese, and Pole to draft a warning letter to the Emperor. The well-known *Admonitio paterna Pauli III. Romani pontificis ad invictissimum Caesarem Carolum V* in fact had two drafts. The first made many of the same points as the second but was written in unusually sharp terms.¹⁰⁷⁹ The second draft, milder in tone, dated 24 August 1544, was adopted by the pope and sent to the Emperor. Though the pope's admonition was never published, somehow it was passed to the hands of the Protestants. Copies of both drafts reached Luther.¹⁰⁸⁰ This stirred Luther to write his last major work against the papacy, *Against the Papacy at Rome, Founded by the Devil*, which was published on

¹⁰⁷⁶ For details, see Jedin 1957: 495-501.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Lau-Bizer (1969: 185) keenly notes that 'Protestant wording has been adopted' here.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Lau-Bizer 1969: 184-6.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Edwards 1983: 184-5.

¹⁰⁸⁰ *WA* 54: 206.

25 March 1545,¹⁰⁸¹ the day on which the Council of Trent was arranged to open. Calvin also got hold of a copy of the pope's definitive text. He published the *Admonitio paterna ad Caesarem cum scholiis* (1545)¹⁰⁸² after six months.¹⁰⁸³

5.4.1. Pope Paul III's *Admonitio*

As Calvin's reply was based on the second draft of the pope's letter, our analysis will be based on this letter. A brief summary is in order.

The pope's admonition is instructive for understanding his view of his primacy, his attitude to the Protestants and the reformers, and his view of the relationship between *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, as well his response to the call of a General Council. The whole issue of the pope's admonition was about papal authority. The pope held tenaciously to the authority of the Apostolic See. The conviction of its divine origin could never be compromised. Disobedience to the pope was as bad as rebellion against Christ:

The severest punishments of all have been inflicted on those who refused to have Christ for the Lord, the next place of wretchedness has been allotted to those who resisted the authority of the vicegerent of Christ.¹⁰⁸⁴

In addition, the pope clearly saw his office as the centre of the church's unity.¹⁰⁸⁵ Unity or schism had to be understood with reference to the pope. Church unity was possible only by cleaving to the pope, and schism would inevitably result from turning away from him.¹⁰⁸⁶ Moreover, all religious matters, especially those pertaining to settling disputes in doctrines and church reform had to be referred to the pope.¹⁰⁸⁷ In these matters the pope was higher than the Emperor, who could not intervene in religious affairs without consulting the pope. Therefore, the power to call a General or National Council belonged to the pope alone. The pope's admonition certainly struck 'a heavy blow to the moral authority of the Emperor.'¹⁰⁸⁸ The concessions made to the Protestants had to be revoked. The reformers could never be a channel to the reformation of the church. These were people who had already been condemned by the pope though it had been the desire of the Holy See to

¹⁰⁸¹ *WA* 54: 206-299; *LW* 41: 263-376.

¹⁰⁸² *Admonitio paterna Pauli III. Romani pontificis ad invictissimum Caesarem Carolum V. Cum scholiis. CO* 7: 249-88.

¹⁰⁸³ *Bibli. Calviniana* 1: 208: 'Dans son édition, Calvin reprend avec un retard de six mois environ le texte pontifical et lui adjoint des «scholies». ... L'ouvrage a dû être achevé d'imprimer pour la foire du printemps 1545 (12 au 31 mars).'

¹⁰⁸⁴ *CO* 7: 275-6.

¹⁰⁸⁵ *CO* 7: 259-60.

¹⁰⁸⁶ *CO* 7: 265-6.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *CO* 7: 259-60.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Jedin 1957: 499.

bring them back to the 'head [the Apostolic See] and the rest of the body.'¹⁰⁸⁹ The reformers' voice or counsel should never be heard. They would have a chance only if they returned to the pope and the church. The reformation of the church lay with the authority of the pope alone, not the reformers. One can fairly say that at this stage, if Calvin's, or other reformers' attitude had been hardened towards the pope, the same was true of the pope's attitude towards the reformers.

5.4.2. Calvin's Critique of the *Admonitio*

Unlike his earlier commentary on the 'fatherly advice' of Pope Paul III (March 1541) published under a pseudonym before the Colloquy of Regensburg, Calvin was now completely on his own and addressed the pope openly in his own name. From the beginning, Calvin's response was, if not as virulent as Luther's, no less sarcastic and vehement.¹⁰⁹⁰ Without further ado, he went to the heart of discussion.

5.4.2.1. *Unity and the Pope*

From the letter of Paul III, it is clear that the relation between the primacy of the pope and the unity of the church was by no means a spurious issue. That explains why the conciliatory article of the *Regensburg Book* (Article XIX) approached the primacy of the Roman Pontiff from this perspective—in order to be faithful to the pope on the one hand and to win the favour of the Protestants on the other. Calvin was acutely aware of this relationship and he immediately preoccupied himself with this issue. As rigorously as in the 1543 *Institutio*, he rejected the relationship between the primacy of the pope and the unity of the church. Just as Luther repudiated the pope as the devil's son, Calvin branded him, in apocalyptic language, as the Roman harlot who boasted of the unity of the church in his own person. The pope's claim had been blown away by the blast of the Lord's mouth and wiped off by the clear testimony of Scripture. As he had done before, Calvin re-asserted that Christ was the only bond of unity. Emphatically he wrote,

For Christ is the only bond of holy unity. He who departs from him disturbs and violates unity, while out of him there is nothing but sacrilegious conspiracy.¹⁰⁹¹

¹⁰⁸⁹ CO 7: 279-80.

¹⁰⁹⁰ CO 7: 259-60. Cf. Jedin (1957: 500) comments, 'One may well wonder which was more offensive—Luther's vulgar abuse or the cutting sarcasm which Calvin, as the better informed of the two, poured on the conduct of Pierluigi Farnese and his sons.' Cf. CO 21: 67.

¹⁰⁹¹ CO 7: 259; T&T 1: 259.

Just as the pope was tenacious regarding his claim, so was Calvin all the more unyielding in maintaining Christ's centrality. In this context he again called the pope the *romanus Antichristus*,¹⁰⁹² affirming once more his determination regarding the nature of the Roman see.¹⁰⁹³ He also appealed to Scripture and Hilary¹⁰⁹⁴ to support his view.¹⁰⁹⁵ With reference to Hilary, this is the second time Calvin used this father in his combat against the papacy.¹⁰⁹⁶ The first time was in his *Articuli facultatis Parisiensis cum antidoto* (1544), in his antidote to Article XVIII, *De ecclesia et eius autoritate*.¹⁰⁹⁷ This indicates that Calvin had expanded his reading of the fathers in his criticism of the papacy since the 1543 *Institutio*. As regards Scripture, he used Matthew 24: 28 ('Where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together.') again.¹⁰⁹⁸ The first time he used this text was in his 1543 reply to Pighius.¹⁰⁹⁹ In his antidote to Article XVIII of the *Articuli facultatis Parisiensis*, he showed how the church was to be recognized, clearly reminiscent of his debate with Pighius on the authority of the church. As a man was recognized by his face, so the church was to be beheld in Christ.¹¹⁰⁰ Now in his remark on the pope's admonition, he applied his understanding of this text again. As the carcass represented Christ, so Christ was the centre of unity, drawing the whole church to him, just as the eagles flew to the carcass.¹¹⁰¹ However awkward this interpretation was, it just serves to show that Calvin was, apart from keeping up with his previous arguments, ever looking for and applying new arguments against the papacy as the occasion arose. In the final analysis, what is most significant here is that Calvin made unity in Christ and unity in the pope diametrically opposed to each other. Unity in Christ was the 'real unity'

¹⁰⁹² CO 7: 259.

¹⁰⁹³ This designation of the pope as the Antichrist continues through the whole treatise. In a later context, he called the *romanus Antichristus* the *impiorum omnium caput* (CO 7: 263), the *Satanae antesignanus* (CO 7: 277). Again, Calvin's emotion matches *Luther's Against the Roman Papacy, an Institution of the Roman Devil*.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Cf. van Oort (1997: 688)'s brief remarks on Calvin's use of Hilary.

¹⁰⁹⁵ CO 7: 260: 'Audimus piam Hilarii admonitionem: Speciosum quidem nomen est pacis, et pulchra opinio unitatis: sed quis ambigat eam solam ecclesiae et evangeliorum unitam esse pacem, quae Christi est?'

¹⁰⁹⁶ In his 1543 reply to Pighius, however, he had occasions to set himself against Hilary. CO 6: 283-4, 289, 291; Calvin 1996: 73-5, 81-2, 85.

¹⁰⁹⁷ CO 7: 31.

¹⁰⁹⁸ CO 7: 259.

¹⁰⁹⁹ I am grateful to Prof. Anthony N. S. Lane for reminding me of this reference, which I read in 1997 but have since then forgotten. Calvin (1996: 59-60): '[Pighius] takes the body in this passage to refer to the church. But the Evangelist has πῶμα, which to the Greeks signifies a corpse. The meaning of the parable is easy and obvious to anyone: just as a number of eagles are wont to fly to a single corpse, so all the elect, from every direction, go back to the one Christ. So Christ makes himself, rather than the agreement of men or their large numbers, the bond of unity. Now let my readers consider what a faithful interpreter Pighius is. ...' CO 6: 273.

¹¹⁰⁰ CO 7: 31; T&T 1: 102.

¹¹⁰¹ He would use this text again on the same issue in his criticism of the Augsburg Interim.

(*vera unitas*) of the church, which was given concrete expression in 'the pure truth of Christ' (*sincera Christi veritas*).¹¹⁰² This means that without common allegiance to the gospel of Christ, there could be no unity. But this was something the pope did not have. It is on this basis that Calvin ultimately justified departure from Rome and shielded the reformers from the charge of schism.

Let Farnese then show that Christ is on his side, and he will prove that the unity of the church is in the hands of him. But seeing it is impossible to adhere to him without denying Christ, he who breaks up from him makes no departure from the church, but discriminates between the true church and a church adulterous and fictitious.¹¹⁰³

This is just another proof that Calvin's rejection of the pope's primacy as guaranteeing the unity of the church was ultimately based on a doctrinal consideration: the pope had no pure doctrine of the gospel of Christ.

5.4.2.2. Councils and the Obligation of Christian Princes

Calvin also disputed Paul III's claim that only the pope had the right to call a council. He supplied a great deal of historical evidence to prove his point. It was Constantine who called the Council of Arles and summoned Sylvester to the council. Theodosius called the Council of Aquileia in Italy at which the Roman bishop was not present. For five hundred years all the General Councils from the first Council of Nicea, including the Council of Ephesus, Constantinople, and Chalcedon were convened by the Emperor. The Emperor at each of these Councils just issued an Imperial edict. He did not wait for the approval of the Roman bishop. If Paul III arrogated the exclusive right to himself to call councils, he had to 'abolish all acts of Councils, and all ancient history.'¹¹⁰⁴

Moreover, there were biblical precedents in imperial leadership and involvement in the reformation of the church. King Josiah, whose reform was 'eulogised by the Holy Spirit,' was a case in point.¹¹⁰⁵ Isaiah called upon all kings to undertake the care of the church. David issued an edict to call upon the priests to bring up the ark of God.¹¹⁰⁶ By contrast, it was vain to look for any help from the pope. The pope's resistance to the reformation of the church as sought by the Emperor could only betray his own impiety.¹¹⁰⁷ Moreover, even if it was not every man's business to reform the church, this right could not be denied to Christian

¹¹⁰² CO 7: 264, 275.

¹¹⁰³ CO 7: 260.

¹¹⁰⁴ CO 7: 261.

¹¹⁰⁵ CO 7: 263.

¹¹⁰⁶ CO 7: 267.

¹¹⁰⁷ CO 7: 264. T&T 1: 264.

princes. Paul III's accusation that the Emperor would be invading the sacerdotal chair if he engaged in correcting the evils of the church found no support from the holy fathers either. For them Christian princes engaging in removing the corruption of the church was an ancient practice. In fact, Paul III himself laboured under a hallucination. He could not tell the great difference between occupying a sacerdotal chair and having proper persons to sit in it, there to rule with reason and justice. For Calvin the sacerdotal 'chair' (*cathedra*) was an empty office, if it was not filled by a worthy and proper person. But the fact was that there was no priest who stood ready to perform the duty.¹¹⁰⁸ By contrast, Christian princes had all the right to deprive careless and dishonest priests of their dignities.¹¹⁰⁹ More importantly, based on biblical precedents and in view of the fact that there were no true priests under the papal priesthood, the Emperor had no alternative but to interfere in order to save the church from destruction.¹¹¹⁰ For the duty of a Christian man, one must listen to God alone, not to the fallacious arguments of the pope.

It is the duty of Caesar, and of all mankind, to listen to only one Legislator, in every thing which pertains to the internal government of the soul, and to submit, without exception, to all the laws which he has decreed.¹¹¹¹

5.4.2.3. The Pope's Council

Calvin also felt constrained to expose the intention of the pope in calling a General Council. He was convinced that the pope indeed did not want to call a General Council because he did not wish the cause of the Protestants to be handled by way of open discussion. A National Council of the German people would not be in the pope's favour either, since if the German people adopted a pure faith, and clung together under one common head, namely Christ, the whole world could subsequently to be brought to this unity. The reason for the pope's fear was simple. Primarily, he thought that his primacy was at stake. For Calvin, the pope would do anything, even at the expense of God's pure doctrine, to defend his own primacy.

But the pope cries out in protest, because it is nothing to him that one God be acknowledged by all, and the whole world governed by the pure doctrine and under the auspices of Christ, if he himself is not adored as head.¹¹¹²

¹¹⁰⁸ In his letter to the King of Poland in December 1554 Calvin wrote that 'whosoever is a Popish priest [because he celebrates the Mass] cannot, till he abjure that title, be a servant of Christ. See *LJC* 3: 107.

¹¹⁰⁹ *CO* 7: 266.

¹¹¹⁰ *CO* 7: 269.

¹¹¹¹ *CO* 7: 270.

¹¹¹² *CO* 7: 280.

Consistently, the pope's primacy and the pure doctrine of Christ were in conflict under Calvin's scrutiny. Even if a General Council was called by the pope, the pope, as head, would be the sole judge of the Council. Yet he would not allowed himself to be judged by the Council. In fact, the Council would then be under the control of the pope. With the strongest language Calvin likened the Paul III to an unreasonable robber, who being a criminal set the terms by which he would be judged, all to his own advantage, and thus turning himself into the judge:

But this is just the same as if a robber, when accused of the robbery and murder committed by him, were to say that he does not refuse to be judged, but on the condition that the tribunal shall be erected by himself, that he from it shall pronounce judgment in his own cause, that nothing shall be pressed by no evidence, but shall so regulate the whole pleading of the cause, that he may without any molestation secure impunity for his crimes.¹¹¹³

If one remember Calvin's legal training, one understands that this illustration serves to describe the madness of the pope to the extreme. In Calvin's analysis, the primacy of the pope was still the key issue in the calling of a General Council. This grip on primacy would drive the pope to control all discussions of doctrine. This shaped and summed up Calvin's view toward the upcoming Council of Trent called by the pope. We shall see how this worked out in his critique of this Council.

5.5. Critique of the Council of Trent (1548)

After a long delay the Council of Trent was finally convoked in December 1545. In retrospect, the Council encompassed three periods. The first period, which encompassed eight sessions, lasted from 13 December 1545 to 11 March 1547. The significance of these sessions is that they mainly defined the doctrine of faith of the Roman Catholic Church against the aberrations of the Reformation. The second period lasted from 21 April 1547 to 28 April 1552 (Ninth to Sixteenth Session). The sacraments were the focus of deliberation during this period. The third period lasted from 18 January 1562 to 4 December 1563 (Seventeenth to Twenty-fifth Session). The problem of episcopal residency was addressed in this final period, in which the ideal of the bishop as a pastor was depicted in the decrees.

It was obvious that by the time of the 1540s, Calvin was recognised as a chief spokesman for the cause of the Reformation movement.¹¹¹⁴ Upon the request of Farel, Viret and others in August 1547, Calvin decided to write a reply to the Acts of the Council of Trent.¹¹¹⁵ In the spring of 1548, his *Acta Synodi Tridentinae cum*

¹¹¹³ CO 7: 284; T&T 1: 282.

¹¹¹⁴ Pauck 1968: 156

¹¹¹⁵ *Bibli. Calviniana* 1: 238. See CO 12: 569, 572.

antidoto was published.¹¹¹⁶ In a letter to Calvin dated 21 December 1547 Farel praised Calvin for his work.¹¹¹⁷ In reply Calvin wrote, 'Undoubtedly, I wonder if any writing worthy to be read can be produced again by me.'¹¹¹⁸ These words not only indicate that Calvin was pleased with his own effort but also that he attached a great importance to this polemical work. Indeed, the content itself demonstrates that this was the climax of Calvin's polemics against Rome. As the date shows, Calvin's work was written in direct response to the first period of the Council.¹¹¹⁹ This work, together with Calvin's subsequent attitude to the Council in its second and third phases, offers us great insight into his criticism of the papacy, so important that without them our understanding and evaluation of Calvin's thought and attitude toward the papacy will be greatly hampered.

5.5.1. The Purpose of Calvin's *Antidote*

The preface to the reader discloses the difficulty of the task Calvin felt himself facing in writing the *Antidote*. From what he read from the decrees, Calvin knew that it was impossible to move Rome to restore the doctrine of godliness and cleanse the church of corruption—and this is one important point for our thesis. He knew that he was contending with the blind ambition of Rome. Thus Calvin stated the purpose of the *Antidote*:

We see that however they may be vanquished in argument, they nevertheless continue obstinate, because they think they have to fight for honour and life. I will not, therefore, be so foolish as to attempt in vain to recall them to a sound mind; those of them, I mean, whose contumacy is seen to be altogether desperate. I will rather turn in a different direction, and let all the godly see how abominable the impiety of those men is.¹¹²⁰

The importance of these words cannot be underestimated. In the light of Calvin's stated purpose we should understand Calvin's 'Amen' in his comments on some of the Tridentine texts. As commented in the first chapter, Robert Kingdon has made so much of Calvin's 'Amen' as to suggest that Calvin was not totally negative toward Trent (particularly in the first period).¹¹²¹ Calvin's preface tells us otherwise. Admittedly, Calvin's 'Amen' indicates that there are 'areas of consensus between Tridentine Catholicism and orthodox Protestantism.'¹¹²² But basically, the whole

¹¹¹⁶ CO 7: 365-506.

¹¹¹⁷ CO 12: 634-5.

¹¹¹⁸ CO 12: 642.

¹¹¹⁹ The effective Lutheran answer to Trent was later given at Naumburg in January 1561. See Nugent 1974: 55-6 and McNally 1964: 1-22.

¹¹²⁰ CO 7: 369-70; T&T 3: 18.

¹¹²¹ Casteel (1970: 101) obviously follows Kingdon's opinion without acknowledging it.

¹¹²² Kingdon 1964: 151.

outlook of Calvin's *Antidote* remains negative. His 'Amen' means that he agreed with what Trent had defined when it fell in line with his thinking on the same doctrinal points. But Calvin's 'Amen' receded in the background of the main lines of his criticism. What Calvin disagreed with and fiercely criticised were the key doctrines at stake.

For Calvin, the Acts of the Council of Trent were important in another sense. He saw that the Tridentine texts 'explained all their inward feelings (*interiores sensus*).'¹¹²³ It should be underlined that for the first time, Calvin had the official and definitive texts of the Roman church on important doctrinal articles on which he could comment. These texts not only revealed who the Romanists were but also the true substance of their doctrinal position. They 'leave nobody in doubt what the state of the Church would be if it depended on their decision.'¹¹²⁴ Thus, by publishing the Tridentine texts and his own *Antidote* together, Calvin aimed at allowing the reader to 'decide to which party they ought to incline.'¹¹²⁵ In this sense, the *Antidote* was never intended to be ecumenical in nature. Calvin's purpose was not to build dialogue with Rome but to win more people who were still wavering in the middle of the religious controversies of the Reformation period. Farel understood Calvin's *Antidote* more than many of his interpreters today when he praised Calvin's work as 'your divine work against the Tridentines.'¹¹²⁶

5.5.2. The Pope and Trent

Calvin's preface to the *Antidote*¹¹²⁷ is as important as the rest of the work. For one thing, it shows that his criticism of the Tridentine Acts could not be separated from his criticism of the papacy.¹¹²⁸ This preface confirmed Calvin's earlier conviction that the pope would control the Council and its doctrinal discussion. From the outset, Calvin was careful to point out that he had a high regard for ancient councils. For this reason, his criticism of Trent was not because he was rejecting councils as such. He admitted that councils had been from the beginning used by God to heal the diseases of the church. The people of ancient councils were pious and holy fathers. They gathered in order to determine what the Holy Spirit dictated. Therefore councils were deservedly honoured by all the godly. Even so, Calvin was quick to caution the claim that no council could err on the pretence that it was guided

¹¹²³ CO 7: 369-70; T&T 3: 18.

¹¹²⁴ CO 7: 369-70.

¹¹²⁵ CO 7: 369-70.

¹¹²⁶ CO 12: 634.

¹¹²⁷ CO 7: 379-86.

¹¹²⁸ Casteel (1970: 102)'s study does not take this preface seriously and has not grasped the significance of Calvin's rejection of the pope in it.

by the Holy Spirit. As was his previous conviction, decisions of any council worthy of any acceptance had to be established from Scripture. In this respect, the Spirit of God could not be separated from the Word of God.

Then Calvin began with the pope who called the Council. He accepted that a council had long been desired by many people in order to rectify doctrinal errors and corruptions in the church. Yet such a council had been delayed again and again. Paul III's explanation for the delay of such a council in the *Bull of the Convocation of the Holy Ecumenical Council of Trent* was not appreciated by Calvin at all. He judged that the delay was due to the evil conscience of the pope who trembled at the very mention of a council. Calvin even cast doubt on the necessity of sending three legates from the pope. In his view, the purpose for the need of these three legates was to act as 'mutual checks,' each preventing the other from attempting anything.¹¹²⁹ This also showed that the pope actually could find no one whom he could trust and he had to arrange the Council in a such way that it was properly under his complete control.

In his judgment, others in the papacy did not want to have the Council. Calvin attributed two main reasons to this hesitation. First, they honoured human decrees once delivered in the past. There was no need for new discussions, since they believed that those decisions and decrees of the past were the oracles of the Holy Spirit.¹¹³⁰ Secondly, they did not want anything to happen to shake their power. Under Calvin's scrutiny, the selfish aims on the part of the whole papacy were the roadblock to the calling of a true council so urgently needed.¹¹³¹

Calvin's critique of the people who composed the Council deserves to be noted. He reckoned that the Council was represented by low attendance. He observed that there were only 40 bishops or so present in the Council.¹¹³² But his main concern was not so much for their numbers as their moral and intellectual quality. Thus in Calvin's judgment, the two bishops sent from France, for example, were 'equally dull and unlearned.' They 'never had a taste of even the first rudiments of theology.'¹¹³³ It is clear that for Calvin unworthy men could not make up a worthy council, as was laid down in his 1543 *Institutio*.¹¹³⁴

¹¹²⁹ Calvin later called them '*tres Antichristi legatos*.' See CO 7: 389.

¹¹³⁰ CO 7: 381; T&T 3: 32.

¹¹³¹ Cf. Alberigo (1988: 211): 'Culpability for the dramatic long delay in calling the Council weighs heavily upon almost all the leaders of Europe, but it weighs most of all upon the Papacy and the Roman Curia, victims trapped in their own political designs. The papacy feared from the council an attack on its prerogatives, and the Curia feared that a real reform "in head and members" would reduce the powers that had accrued to Rome in recent centuries.'

¹¹³² Cf. Jedin 1961: 482-3.

¹¹³³ CO 7: 382-3; T&T 3: 34.

¹¹³⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 219. Calvin had laid down the criteria that when a decree of any council is brought forward it should be diligently considered at what time and on what occasion it was held, and

Calvin was aware of the objection that the decision of the Council did not rest on the bishops alone. There were the theologians who would help in the process. But he judged them to be

garrulous and audacious monks, some of whom hunt after mitres, and others after cardinals' hats, while all of them sell their prattle to the Roman Pontiff.¹¹³⁵

But again reminiscent of his *concessio* rhetoric, Calvin assumed that these were extraordinary persons and theologians of no common erudition. But it was ironic that the bishops who mounted the lofty seats and were supposed to represent the church should borrow precariously the *dicta* of a group of people who belong to a lower bench. Behind this rhetoric was Calvin's usual assumption that bishops should be able to teach and to guard sound doctrine. But in the Council, the bishops depended on others. Moreover, for Calvin these theologians were in reality a group of hungry monks. He learned that they debated in long and formal discussions, 'quarrelling and croaking away like the frogs of Aristophanes.' He ridiculed that in such disgraceful debate 'at length those famous decrees are concocted and afterwards given out as the responses of the Holy Spirit.'¹¹³⁶ In a sarcastic way, Calvin led readers to see that the Holy Spirit could not preside in these debates. Their decisions were nothing but human *dicta*.

More significantly, in Calvin's view, the Council was not a free Council. The work of the theologians of Trent was conditioned by two other factors. First, they had to look to other powerful people outside the Council. One was the Sorbonne at Paris.¹¹³⁷ The second was, undoubtedly, the pope. They knew that nothing was to be determined without the nod of the Roman Pontiff. This in fact was the ultimate, defining factor of the decisions at Trent. It was the pope's authority which made Calvin so critical of the Council. He put it vividly and sarcastically:

As soon as any decree is framed, couriers flee off to Rome, and beg pardon and peace at the feet of their idol. The holy father hands over what the couriers have brought to his private advisers for examination. They curtail, add, and change as they please. The couriers return, and a sederunt is appointed. The notary reads over what no one dares to disapprove, and the asses shake their ears in assent. Behold the oracle which imposes religious obligations on the whole world! Why do they not openly confess the thing as it is—that ten or twenty monks, whose labours they have hired, concoct the decrees—that the Pope puts his censorial pen through whatever does not please him, and approves of the rest—that nothing is left to the Council but the burden of publishing?¹¹³⁸

with what intention as well as by what kind of men it was attended. Moreover, the decree itself should be examined by the standard of Scripture (*Scripturae amussis*).

¹¹³⁵ CO 7: 383; T&T 3: 34.

¹¹³⁶ CO 7: 383; T&T 3: 34.

¹¹³⁷ CO 7: 384; T&T 3: 35.

¹¹³⁸ CO 7: 384; T&T 3: 35.

In response to this defining role of the pope Calvin wrote vehemently:

I hesitate not to expose an ape though adorned with purple, and let all see him to be the ape he is.¹¹³⁹

For this reason, Calvin thought that he was justified to call the decrees of Trent in question.¹¹⁴⁰ For Calvin, the problem of this Council was at its root the problem of the primacy and authority of the pope, since the pope was one 'to whose decision and censure everything is subjected.'¹¹⁴¹ Thus Calvin concluded his observation:

As to one thing there was no doubt, viz., that whoever should be allowed to sit and give their opinion, all of them, some ensnared by ambition, others blinded by avarice, others inflamed with rage, would be mortal enemies to sound doctrine, and *being bound together in secret conspiracy to establish the tyranny of the Pope*, would exert themselves to *destroy the kingdom of Christ*. There might, perhaps, be a very few unaffected by this cruel and impious feeling, but still without the manliness to resist it in others. I therefore immediately concluded, that under such unjust judges, *the truth would be oppressed without being heard*. ... *Thanks to the Pope for furnishing us with a display which our very children will hold in derision*¹¹⁴² (italics mine).

These words clearly demonstrate again that any study on Calvin's evaluation of the Council cannot be complete without taking seriously Calvin's negative attitude towards the pope. For Calvin the Council would be on a different course and yield different results with regard to its doctrinal decision if the pope did not hold such a power. That is why the Council of Trent had practically led Calvin's rejection of the pope to its zenith.

5.5.3. The Hope of Reform and Paul III

With such a dark view of the personalities of Trent, and especially with such a negative view of the pope, the hope of reform by the Council was even bleaker.¹¹⁴³ In his response to the Tridentine fathers' condemnation of heretics in the prefatory discourse, Calvin saw that there was no hope of reform for the church under this Council. There was no real hearing and dialogue but condemnation. There was no

¹¹³⁹ CO 7: 385; T&T 3: 36.

¹¹⁴⁰ Calvin's scepticism was not totally unfounded. Relating the opinion of Cervini, Jedin (1961: 489) wrote that although there was freedom of speech, 'in any case, the chief and really decisive role in the reform of the Church had to be played by the Pope.' For the balance of power in the Council, see Jedin (1961: 489-92). Cf. also Jedin (1967: 22): 'The Council of Trent was a "papal council", in many respects like a council of the high Middle Ages. Summoned by the Pope, it was also directed by him.' Jedin (1947) gives a fairly good picture of the inner workings, dynamics, as well as the role played by the pope in the council.

¹¹⁴¹ CO 7: 384; T&T 3: 36.

¹¹⁴² CO 7: 386; T&T 3: 37.

¹¹⁴³ Cf. Evans 1992: 244.

elimination of idolatries. There was no unloosening of the tyrannical yoke of impious laws by which miserable consciences were ensnared. The people who sat as judges in Trent were in fact overthrowing piety and corrupting sacred things. They brought no benefits to the Council. These were people who 'remained obstinate in establishing the kingdom of impiety,' that is, the kingdom of the Antichrist.¹¹⁴⁴

It is significant to note that Calvin was especially outraged by the eulogy that the Tridentine fathers paid to the pope. He poured forth his wrath first in his response to the speech of Ambrosius Catharinus, a Roman Catholic theologian who was also an old opponent of Luther, whom Calvin described as having been disgracefully prostrated by Luther twenty years ago.¹¹⁴⁵ Now this rebuke to Catharinus should be put into context. Calvin first reproached Catharinus for decking the Virgin Mary with fictitious titles, calling her 'the associate of Christ,'¹¹⁴⁶ which Calvin deemed a blasphemous expression. He rejected Catharinus' assertion that Mary had been appointed by God to be our advocate. For Calvin such an exaltation of Mary meant dividing Christ so much so that 'half of what the Apostles declare of Christ is applicable to her,' making Christ 'only one among a crowd of advocates.'¹¹⁴⁷ It was in this context that Calvin responded to Catharinus' assertion about the pope with outrage. Thus Calvin continues,

After this beautiful arrangement in heaven, he descends to the terrestrial hierarchy, and declares that whoever refuses to submit to Paul III is an alien from the body of Christ!

Thus, just as the exaltation of the Virgin Mary had deprived Christ of his heavenly honour, to assert the authority of Paul III in such a way was to strip Christ of his Headship on earth. Unreservedly, Calvin poured out his wrath,

What! Even though he hold a primacy only like that of the devil among his angels?¹¹⁴⁸

Calvin consistently repelled this idea of papal primacy, though this time with added vehemence against the exaltation of the Virgin Mary. Whenever the issue of papal primacy came up, Calvin responded with the same fierce outcry. He rejected the claim that he who held the See of Rome could not but be the Vicar of Christ. Again, he wielded the weapon of the records of church history which he used in the 1543 *Institutio*: Gregory's testimony to reject the appellation of Universal Bishop, the

¹¹⁴⁴ CO 7: 389; T&T 3: 41.

¹¹⁴⁵ Cf. Jedin 1961: 40.

¹¹⁴⁶ CO 7: 395: 'socia Christi.'

¹¹⁴⁷ CO 7: 395; T&T 3: 48.

¹¹⁴⁸ CO 7: 395; T&T 3: 48.

African bishops' opposition to conceding the title of the first or highest bishop to the bishop of Rome, Cyprian's concept of the universal bishopric of Christ and his break with Stephen the Roman bishop, and Jerome's view of the status of the bishop.¹¹⁴⁹ Again he used his *concessio* rhetoric, but we find a slightly different version here. Calvin wrote:

But though with one assent the Roman See were raised to the third heaven how ridiculous is it to make a primate of bishops of one who is no more like a bishop than a wolf is like a lamb! It is little to say that there is nothing episcopal in him, but while he is the declared enemy of Christ and the Church, it is surely too much to insist on our acknowledging him to be also the Vicar of Christ?¹¹⁵⁰

The pope was a declared enemy of Christ! This was another form of Calvin's deepest reason for rejecting his primacy. In the final analysis, Calvin only demanded a very basic condition from the Roman see, that he do the work of a bishop, refrain from usurping the honour of Christ, and stop persecuting the sound doctrine of Christ. But he could not find this reality in the bishop of Rome. The Council of Trent proved that this was indeed the case.

At this juncture Calvin took issue with Bishop Cornelius at Trent. Cornelius' eulogy for Paul III was that the pope came as 'a light into the world.' For Calvin this appellation was extremely blasphemous, which was equal to stripping Christ of his honour and falsifying the whole Council. Calvin wrote,

The Pope, he says, came as a light into the world. Blasphemous mouth! Will you apply to that fetid monster of yours sacred terms applicable to none but the Son of God? Had you believed in a God, must not the very sound of your nefarious voice have struck you with sudden horror and amazement? Had there been any feeling of piety in that famous Council, must not this great profanation of Scripture, and more especially this insult to the Son of God, have inflamed all with indignation? And will they still pretend that the Holy Spirit presides where our Redeemer is with such impunity mocked? For what is more peculiar to Christ than the honour which the evangelist renders to him when, excluding the Baptist by name, or rather under this name excluding all mortals, he asserts of Christ alone, and proclaims that the Son of God came as our light from heaven? It is one of those sentences which must produce the highest reverence in all pious minds. The Council, however, receive it as if it were mere gaudy verbiage. What words of rebuke could be strong enough for such impiety?¹¹⁵¹

Calvin was just too jealous for the honour of Christ to allow an appellation like this to apply to the pope. Yet, this is exactly what the Tridentine fathers had accepted. In this struggle, it was evident Calvin's rejection of the primacy of the pope had reached a boiling point in Trent. Thus he sarcastically wrote:

¹¹⁴⁹ CO 7: 396; T&T 3: 49.

¹¹⁵⁰ CO 7: 396; T&T 3: 49.

¹¹⁵¹ CO 7: 397; T&T 3: 51.

After saying that he (Paul III) was preserved by the wondrous providence of God to bless us with his faith, wisdom, and power, he bids the venerable Fathers, as sitting on a kind of tripod, exclaim, Long life to the Holiest—Long life to the Oecumenical—Long life to the Apostolical! O good father, how much better were it for you to be a man of sense than to sing out your 'vival' in favour not only of a dead man, but of a fatal pestiferous monster! *As to your proclaiming him worthy of heaven, I don't know if you are aware of the universal belief that he was unworthy of the earth!*¹¹⁵² (Italics mine).

At this climax of total rejection, one cannot see any hope of Calvin being reconcilable with the papacy.

5.5.4. Critique of Tridentine Decrees

As this study has consistently shown, Calvin's critique of the papacy was intimately related to the doctrine the Roman bishop held and taught. Hitherto, his examination of the doctrines of the Roman church was based on its current beliefs and the published works by the Roman Catholics.¹¹⁵³ Now for the first time, Trent freshly provided him¹¹⁵⁴ with four dogmatic decrees which in their essence were a direct reply to the Protestant Reformation.¹¹⁵⁵ As Calvin believed that the pope was controlling the discussions in Trent and held him accountable for its erroneous definitions, a sketch of his critique of these doctrinal decrees may allow us to see how essentially different was the latest official doctrinal position of the papacy from Calvin's *praecipua doctrina*.

5.5.4.1. Critique of the Decree on Scripture and Tradition

Calvin knew very well the importance of the decree on Scripture and Tradition. For once it was issued, the Protestants' principle of *sola scriptura* was insufficient for any discussion of the doctrine or reform of the church.¹¹⁵⁶ When the authority of the interpretation the Scripture was denied to them, they had no right to

¹¹⁵² CO 7: 398; T&T 3: 55. 'Vivat' refers to '... Vivat sanctissimus. Vivat oecumenicus. Vivat apostolicus...'

¹¹⁵³ In his *Institutes* Calvin criticised many of the current beliefs of the Roman church. Sadoletto and Pighius were notable individuals whose works were sharply rejected by Calvin for their doctrinal positions: Sadoletto's formulation of the doctrine of justification in his letter to the Genevan people (1539) was ridiculed, and Pighius' *Ten Books on Human Free Choice and Divine Grace* (1542) was critically rejected by Calvin in his *The Bondage and Liberation of the Will* (1543). See Lane's 'Introduction' in Calvin (1996: xiii-xxxiv). The Sorbonnists' *Articles* (1544) were also trampled under Calvin's pen. See LaVallee (1967).

¹¹⁵⁴ Calvin had before him an accurate, though unofficial, text of the Tridentine decrees. See Swierenga (1966b: 17).

¹¹⁵⁵ Jedin 1961: 493.

¹¹⁵⁶ For an elucidation of the meaning of *sola scriptura*, see Lane 1994: 297-327. Lane (1994: 323): '... the point that definitely separated the Reformers from the Roman Catholic Church, that is the essence of the *sola Scriptura*, ... is that Scripture is the final authority or norm for Christian belief.' Cf. Grogan 205-21.

establish truth for the church. More significantly, Calvin saw this decree from a particular angle. He saw a close link between the Tridentine fathers who formulated this decree and the Roman see. In this context, the Roman see was again described by Calvin in apocalyptic language as 'the great harlot.' The description was fashioned in the language of war, primarily a war fought between the Protestants and the pope.

There is an old proverb—The Romans conquer by sitting. Trusting to this, those degenerate and bastard sons of the Roman see, i.e., the great harlot, sat down to conquer when they appointed the third session. For what hinders them from raising a trophy, and coming off victorious to their hearts' content, if we concede to them what they have comprehended in one decree? There are four heads: First, they ordain that in doctrine we are not to stand on Scripture alone, but also on things handed down by tradition. Secondly, in forming a catalogue of Scripture, they mark all the books with the same chalk, and insist on placing the Apocrypha in the same rank with the others. Thirdly, repudiating all other versions whatsoever, they retain the Vulgate only, and order it to be authentic. Lastly, in all passages either dark or doubtful, they claim the right of interpretation without challenge. These four things being established, who can deny that the war is ended?¹¹⁵⁷

Reserving the power of judging the meaning of Scripture to the church was nothing but a pretence. He saw that this power would inevitably be given to the pope.

The sum is, that the spirit of Trent wished by this decree that Scripture should only signify to us whatever dreaming monks might choose. For what else do they mean by the Church? Though the Roman bishops, I mean all who serve under the banner and auspices of that Anti-Christian See, were to assemble from every quarter of the world, how pray, could they, by laying their heads together, frame a proper version for us? Many of them hardly knew the elements of grammar. At least, they will not venture to deny that there is scarcely one in a hundred who has read an entire book of the Prophets, or one of the Apostolical Epistles, or one of the Gospels. They are too much occupied with other cares to have any leisure for sacred literature. *The only resource is to reserve the privilege for the Apostolic See, and say that the interpretation of Scripture must be sought from the holy lips of Paul Farnese!*¹¹⁵⁸ (Italics mine).

But if Calvin opposed giving the power of the interpretation of Scripture to the pope, where did he locate the *magisterium* of the church? This is the kind of question one often has in mind when one reads Calvin. For the first time in his writings we have a clearer answer from his pen. Just as Trent defined the locus of authority for the interpretation of Scripture, Calvin in reply gave us his view on the same issue. In fact, his reply allows one to see why for him the authority of the pope was dispensable. For Calvin the doctors of the church were responsible for interpreting the meaning of Scripture. This was done, to be sure, with the principle of *sola scriptura* assumed. It was obvious that he would not entrust the right of

¹¹⁵⁷ CO 7: 411; T&T 3: 67-8.

¹¹⁵⁸ CO 7: 418; T&T 3: 76.

interpretation to a single person. The *vera intelligentia* of Scripture could not be decided by the power of a single office, not to say the office of the pope. The true meaning of Scripture could be arrived at by a gift from God, that is, the gift of the *doctores* of the church who should also be pious persons.¹¹⁵⁹ In the event of an obscure passage, for example, the solution is reached by means of doctors gathering together in religious discussion (*religiosa disceptatio*). They in turn should submit their findings to the judgment of the whole church. Calvin believed that in this direction the truth of Scripture could be reached.¹¹⁶⁰ He was confident that the reformers have just done that. Thus he wrote,

I will most truly declare that we have thrown more light upon the Scriptures than all the doctors who have appeared under the Papacy since its commencement. This praise even they themselves dare not deny us. Still there is none of us who does not willingly submit his lucubrations to the judgment of the Church. Therefore we neither condemn nor impair the authority of the Church; nor do we give loose reins to men to dare what they please. I wish they would show us such a Church as Scripture itself portrays; we should easily agree as to the respect due to it. But when, falsely assuming the name of Church, they seize upon the spoils of which they have robbed it, what else can we do than protest?¹¹⁶¹

In this conception, Calvin's teaching of the magisterium is essentially different from the Roman conception for he would not allow a single office to have the final teaching authority. His belief in *religiosa disceptatio* in settling doctrinal disputes would inevitably lead to the instrumentation of a general council, a point that will be confirmed in his *Mémoire sur le concile*, to which we will turn later.

5.5.4.2. Critique of the Decree on Original Sin and Justification

Calvin had no problem with Trent on the meaning of original sin itself. The dispute centered on the understanding of sin after baptism. On this issue, 'they begin to act in their own way.'¹¹⁶² That is, they no longer followed 'the ancient and approved doctrine of the Church.'¹¹⁶³ In the Tridentine decree, 'everything that has the proper nature of sin is taken away by baptism.'¹¹⁶⁴ What remained in the baptised person was concupiscence or an inclination (*fomes*) to sin. Yet by itself concupiscence was not sin. But for Calvin, what was offered to us in baptism was remission of sin and regeneration.¹¹⁶⁵ Remission of sin meant that the whole guilt of

¹¹⁵⁹ This is also consistent with his teaching on the office of doctors already given in the 1543 *Institutio*.

¹¹⁶⁰ CO 7: 416; T&T 3: 74. Cf. CTS *Comm.* 2 Pet. 1: 21.

¹¹⁶¹ CO 7: 418; T&T 3: 76-7.

¹¹⁶² CO 7: 425; T&T 3: 85.

¹¹⁶³ CO 7: 423; T&T 3: 85.

¹¹⁶⁴ CO 7: 425; T&T 3: 85.

¹¹⁶⁵ Grislis 1992: 222-41; Raitt 1992: 243-253.

sin was taken away. But while guilt was abolished by the grace of Christ, sin truly remained in the regenerate. Thus, by its own nature concupiscence was still sin. That regeneration was offered to us meant that 'regeneration is only begun and goes on making progress during the whole of life.'¹¹⁶⁶ The believer depended wholly on the innocence of Christ with which he was clothed, and from baptism he began a life-long process of regeneration.

Trent's dogmatic decision on sin after baptism was consistent with its view on justification decreed in the next session.¹¹⁶⁷ The decree on justification involved a string of doctrines—freewill, faith, love, commandments, predestination, merits, penance, and even purgatory.¹¹⁶⁸ Calvin gave most of his effort to refuting this decree as well as all the doctrines involved in it.

In Calvin's opinion the doctrine of man's justification could be easily explained, but the false opinions of Trent had 'spread darkness over the clear light.'¹¹⁶⁹ The principal cause of obscurity was the fact that 'we do not want to leave the glory of righteousness to God alone.'¹¹⁷⁰ 'For we always desire to be something, and such is our folly, we even think we are [something].'¹¹⁷¹ This is Calvin's judgment:

Nay, their definition at length contains nothing else than the trite dogma of the schools: that men are justified *partly by the grace of God and partly by their own works*; thus only showing themselves somewhat more modest than Pelagius¹¹⁷² (italics mine).

First, Trent's dogmatic decision on original sin was defective in its view of freewill. Freewill was only weakened in its power and inclination but not wholly extinguished in man. This implied that 'the human will has still some power left to choose good.'¹¹⁷³ Calvin rejected this decision categorically.

Trent's decision on justification in relation to baptism was also rejected by Calvin. For Trent, there was no transference to a state of grace without baptism, or a desire for it. Calvin saw that such an idea had serious implications for the infants of believers. God's promise to believer's children was at stake. They were holy because they were the believer's seeds, not because they were baptised. God's promise was sufficient for their salvation. Trent's pronouncement amounted to excluding these

¹¹⁶⁶ CO 7: 425; T&T 3: 86.

¹¹⁶⁷ For an analysis of this decree, see Jedin 1957: 307-8.

¹¹⁶⁸ Cf. Hamm 1999: 53-90; Anderson 1968: 385-406.

¹¹⁶⁹ CO 7: 441; T&T 3: 108.

¹¹⁷⁰ CO 7: 441; T&T 3: 108.

¹¹⁷¹ CO 7: 441; T&T 3: 108.

¹¹⁷² CO 7: 442; T&T 3: 108.

¹¹⁷³ CO 7: 443; T&T 3: 108.

infants from the kingdom of God if they were not baptised. On the other hand, this erroneous view also assigned baptism the first place in our justification, a position unacceptable to Calvin since he viewed it, by comparison, as 'an appendage of the gospel.'¹¹⁷⁴

Calvin also rejected Trent's pronouncement on the preparation for justification. The grace of preparation lay in God's exciting and assisting the will. Man's part lay in freely co-operating with God's grace. Calvin's criticism was that, with Trent's formulation, 'the reception of grace is not of God, in as much as it is by the free movement of our own will we assent to God calling.'¹¹⁷⁵ This again was based on Calvin's resolute rejection of freewill in the way of salvation.¹¹⁷⁶ Since man's will was completely captive under the power of sin, what was really needed was to form a new heart in man. This was exclusively the work of the Holy Spirit whose motion was so efficacious that it always begot faith in us. Calvin summed up:

Their error consists in sharing the work between God and ourselves, so as to transfer to ourselves the obedience of a pious will in assenting to divine grace, whereas this is the proper work of God himself.¹¹⁷⁷

As a matter of fact, the whole dispute lies in the concept of justification.¹¹⁷⁸ For Trent, justification consisted not merely in the forgiveness of sin, but included renovation and sanctification.¹¹⁷⁹ For Calvin, justification consisted in the forgiveness of sin and was obtained by faith.

For justification is added to forgiveness of sins by way of interpretation, and without doubt means acquittal. It is denied to the works of the law; and that it may be gratuitous, it is said to be obtained by faith.¹¹⁸⁰

¹¹⁷⁴ CO 7: 449; T&T 3: 117.

¹¹⁷⁵ CO 7: 444; T&T 3: 111.

¹¹⁷⁶ CO 7: 446; T&T 3: 113: 'Let us remember, therefore that will in man is one thing, and the free choice of good and evil another: for freedom of choice having been taken away after the fall of the first man, will alone was left; but so completely captive under the tyranny of sins, that it is only inclined to evil.'

¹¹⁷⁷ CO 7: 446; T&T 3: 113.

¹¹⁷⁸ Cf. Jedin (1957: 307-9) for a succinct analysis of this decree.

¹¹⁷⁹ Cf. Bavaud (1968: 86)'s interpretation of the Tridentine doctrine: 'Le Concile de Trente ne mentionne pas l'aspect judiciaire de la justification. Il ne la définit pas comme un verdict de pardon, mais comme un « transfert (translatio) de l'état dans lequel l'homme naît fils du premier Adam, à l'état de grâce et d'adoption des fils de Dieu ». Nous sommes donc en face d'un processus ontologique de libération effective du péché dont la sanctification est la face positive. Dans cette perspective, la vertu qui nous obtient, de façon décisive, le pardon des péchés est la charité comme impliquant le don de notre coeur à Dieu et au prochain. La confiance aux promesses divines est certes nécessaire comme aussi l'adhésion à la Parole de Dieu ; ainsi le Concile parle de la foi et de l'espérance.'

¹¹⁸⁰ CO 7: 447: 'Nam et remissioni peccatorum iustificatio, velut interpretationis loco, subiicitur, et absolutionem procul dubio significat: et legis operibus detrahitur, ut sit gratuita, et fide percipi dicitur.'; T&T 3: 115.

This gratuitous justification was based on Christ, who expiated our sin and reconciled us to God. Thus Calvin wrote,

Can anything be clearer than that we are regarded as righteous in the sight of God, because our sins have been expiated by Christ, and no longer hold us under liability?¹¹⁸¹

Calvin saw that 'the whole cause of dispute' lies in the cause of Justification.¹¹⁸² The fathers of Trent pretended that it was twofold, 'partly by forgiveness of sins and partly by spiritual regeneration.'¹¹⁸³ Calvin asserted that justification was 'one and simple, and wholly included in the gratuitous acceptance of God.'¹¹⁸⁴

The reason Calvin was so relentless to maintain this alien nature of righteousness was due to the conviction that

however small the portion attributed to our own work, to that extent faith will waver, and our whole salvation be endangered.¹¹⁸⁵

That is why he accepted no 'partial justification.'¹¹⁸⁶ He took Trent's position as representing the same righteousness of the law opposed by Paul.¹¹⁸⁷

When the fathers of Trent held that man was not united to Christ by faith alone, unless hope and charity are added (Chap. VII) to it, they were still making use of the sophists' distinction by dividing faith into informal faith (that is, faith devoid of charity) and formed faith. To treat faith with this distinction was to reduce faith to a dead persuasion on the one hand, and to add works into the constituent of faith on the other. But Calvin appealed to Augustine to call faith as the 'life of the soul, as soul is that life of the body.'¹¹⁸⁸ Faith received Christ and all his blessings. By faith the believer overcame the world. Therefore this faith was not empty but both simple and powerful. Moreover, as much as the preparation for receiving grace was none other than the free election of God, this faith was in fact a gift of God.¹¹⁸⁹ In Calvin's

¹¹⁸¹ CO 7: 447; T&T 3: 114.

¹¹⁸² Reid 1992b: 204-21.; Parker 1992b: 111-18; Santmire 1964: 294-313.

¹¹⁸³ CO 7: 448; T&T 3: 116.

¹¹⁸⁴ CO 7: 448: 'Ego autem unicam et simplicem esse assero, quae tota continetur gratuita Dei acceptione.'; T&T 3: 116. Cf. Wright (1999: 47): 'For Calvin, ... righteousness ... is a matter solely of imputation, not given to us but acceptable to God (*illi probata*).'

¹¹⁸⁵ CO 7: 449; T&T 3: 117.

¹¹⁸⁶ CO 7: 449; T&T 3: 117.

¹¹⁸⁷ Cf. Bavaud (1968: 90): 'Ce qui sépare le Concile de Trente et Calvin, ce ne sont pas seulement deux définitions de la justification, mais encore deux conceptions de la sanctification elle-même. A cause de cette deuxième divergence, à nos yeux beaucoup plus grave que la première, Calvin ne pouvait pas juger orthodoxe la doctrine tridentine de la justification.'

¹¹⁸⁸ CO 7: 451; T&T 3: 119.

¹¹⁸⁹ CO 7: 452; T&T 3: 120.

judgment, the fathers of Trent did not understand faith at all, and this was of very serious consequence.

They drag the miserable world along with them in the same ignorance to destruction.¹¹⁹⁰

So serious was Trent's error that 'while it is the office of Moses to lead us by the hand to Christ (Gal. 3: 14), they lead us away from the grace of Christ to Moses.'¹¹⁹¹

When the fathers of Trent declared that we were justified freely because faith was the beginning of salvation (Chap. VIII), they were trying to reduce faith to so small a portion, that is, to the beginning alone. Moreover, when it was mentioned that there were works that preceded justification, even though they did not merit the grace of justification, Calvin categorically rejected such a conception.

If any works precede faith, they should also be taken into account. But there is no merit, because there are no works; for if men inquire into their works, they will find only evil works.¹¹⁹²

At this point Calvin's critique of the Tridentine decree on Justification and his critique of the papacy came together.

Posterity will scarcely believe that *the Papacy had fallen into such a stupor* as to imagine the possibility of any work antecedent to justification, even though they denied it to be meritorious of so great a blessing!¹¹⁹³ (Italics mine).

Clearly, for Calvin, Trent's definition of the doctrine of justification was a fateful doctrine by the papacy,¹¹⁹⁴ and this provided the clearest justification for Calvin to reject the 'fallen' papacy.

When Trent denied that man could be certain of the remission of his sin, Calvin retorted that 'they rob all conscience of calm placid confidence.'¹¹⁹⁵ Calvin pointed out that Paul even furnished the believer with boldness, which was

¹¹⁹⁰ CO 7: 451; T&T 3: 119.

¹¹⁹¹ CO 7: 452; T&T 3: 120.

¹¹⁹² CO 7: 455-6; T&T 3: 124.

¹¹⁹³ CO 7: 455; T&T 3: 124.

¹¹⁹⁴ Cf. Pelikan (1959: 51-2): 'All the more tragic, therefore was the Roman reaction on the front which was most important to the reformer, the message and teaching of the church. ... Rome's reaction was the doctrinal decrees of the Council of Trent and the Roman Catechism based upon those decrees. In these decrees, the Council of Trent selected and elevated to official status the notion of justification by faith plus works, which was only one of the doctrines of justification in the medieval theologians and ancient Fathers. When the reformers attacked this notion in the name of justification by faith alone—a doctrine also attested to by some medieval theologians and ancient Fathers—Rome reacted by canonizing one trend in preference to all the others. What had previously been permitted (justification by faith and works), now became required. What had previously been permitted also (justification by faith alone), now became forbidden. In condemning the Protestant Reformation, the Council of Trent condemned part of its own catholic tradition.'

¹¹⁹⁵ CO 7: 456; T&T 3: 125.

something more than certainty (Rom. 8: 37).¹¹⁹⁶ This boldness was founded upon the love of God in Christ. To deny this certainty or boldness to the believer was such a serious fault that in the end 'faith is destroyed as soon as certainty is taken away.'¹¹⁹⁷ For Calvin Trent was so ignorant of the whole nature of faith that the fathers of Trent mingled doubt with it. This doubt made manifest 'the whole of their theology,' a judgment so strong that it must be underlined. The reason that the certainty of justification was unknown to them was because they have 'discarded the foundation of faith,'¹¹⁹⁸ again another strong judgment. For this error Calvin did not hesitate to pronounce them 'twice reprobate.'¹¹⁹⁹

When the decision of Trent spoke of the increase of righteousness, the so-called second justification, that is, the increase of justifying grace through the fulfilment of God's commandments,¹²⁰⁰ Calvin's judgment was that the fathers of Trent 'not only confound the free imputation of righteousness with the merit of works, but almost exterminate it.'¹²⁰¹ By this decree the fathers of Trent did 'their utmost to call their disciples away from the view of grace, blind them by a false confidence in works.'¹²⁰² Calvin's verdict is even harder: 'Never did even Pelagius attempt this.'¹²⁰³

We need not examine all the details of Calvin's criticism. This sketch is sufficient to show that, for Calvin, the dogmatic decrees of Trent were full of error, and that these decrees could only widen the gulf between Calvin and the papacy as he saw that, issuing from the papacy, they were diametrically opposed to his

¹¹⁹⁶ See Lane (1979: 47)'s succinct analysis of Calvin's doctrine of assurance.

¹¹⁹⁷ *CO* 7: 456; *T&T* 3: 125.

¹¹⁹⁸ *CO* 7: 457; *T&T* 3: 127.

¹¹⁹⁹ *CO* 7: 457; *T&T* 3: 127.

¹²⁰⁰ Jedin 1957: 308.

¹²⁰¹ *CO* 7: 458; *T&T* 3: 128.

¹²⁰² *CO* 7: 458; *T&T* 3: 128. Calvin's position on the justification of works is as follows: 'We, indeed, willingly acknowledge, that believers ought to make daily increase in good works, and that the good works wherewith they are adorned by God, are sometimes distinguished by the name of righteousness. But since the whole value of works is derived from no other fountain than that of gratuitous acceptance, how absurd were it to make the former overthrow the latter! Why do they not remember what they learned when boys at school, that what is subordinate is not contrary? I say that it is owing to free imputation that we are considered righteous before God; I say that from this also another benefit proceeds, viz., that our works have the name of righteousness, though they are far from having the reality of righteousness. In short, I affirm, that not by our own merit but by faith alone, are both our persons and works justified; and that the justification of works depends on the justification of the person, as the effect on the cause. Therefore, it is necessary that the righteousness of faith alone so precedes in order, and be so pre-eminent in degree, that nothing can go before it or obscure it. Hence it is a most iniquitous perversion to substitute some kind of meritorious for a gratuitous righteousness, as if God after justifying us once freely in a single moment, left us to procure righteousness for ourselves by the observance of the law during the whole of life' (*T&T* 3: 128). The latest discussion is found in Lane 2002: 33-39.

¹²⁰³ *CO* 7: 459; *T&T* 3: 129.

conception of *praecipua doctrina*. Trent only hardened Calvin's rejection of the papacy all the more.¹²⁰⁴

5.5.4.3. Critique of the Authority of the Apostolic See and Reform

Before we leave this section attention should be drawn to Calvin's final criticism in his *Antidote*. It shows not only how sensitive he was to the authority reserved to the pope in the decrees of Trent, but also how relentless he was in combating this prerogative. The short preliminary on the decree concerning reform of the Seventh Session reads:

The same holy council, the same legates presiding, intending to prosecute the business of residence and reformation already commenced, unto the praise of God and increase of the Christian Religion, have thought proper to enact as follows, always *without prejudice (salva)* to the authority of the Apostolic See.¹²⁰⁵

Calvin's criticism on this text came immediately after his brief comment on the decree on reform regarding the regulation of residence. It was a response to the little (but weighty) word *salva* in the Tridentine text. He wrote,

But even if their regulations had been perfect to a title, good men could not congratulate themselves on the prospect of a better state of matters. For before they enact any law they abrogate all laws together *by one word* [that is, the word *salva*], or at least point out a method by which they may all be abrogated: for they promise that none of the things which they may say are to hinder the Apostolic See from maintaining its authority unimpaired¹²⁰⁶ (*italics mine*).

What Calvin could not accept was the wideness of authority confirmed to the pope.¹²⁰⁷ This authority was of no advantage for true reform. For this would only give licence to the tyranny of the pope. Thus Calvin continued,

¹²⁰⁴ Thus, in his sermon on Galatians 1: 1-2, preached twelve years after his critique of the Council of Trent, Calvin told his congregation: 'The Pope and all his followers are found guilty of falsifying and corrupting the whole teaching of the gospel. What they call the service of God is no more than an abomination in his sight. Their entire system is built on lies and gross deception, for they have been bewitched by Satan himself, as most of us are already aware.' *JCSG Sermon 1: 9*.

¹²⁰⁵ *T&T 3: 167*. The Latin of the last phrase in *CO 7: 489* is '*... salva semper in omnibus sedis Apostolicae auctoritate*' (*italic mine*). *CDCT* (1978: 55) translated this phrase as '*... saving (salva) always and in all things the authority of the Apostolic See.*'

¹²⁰⁶ *CO 7: 504-5; T&T 3: 186*. The Latin in the last sentence is: '*... Praefantur enim ex iis quae dicturi sunt, nihil fore impedimento, quominus salva maneat sedis apostolicae auctoritas*' (*italic mine*).

¹²⁰⁷ In Session XXV (Dec, 1563), a chapter (Ch. XXI) is also devoted to safeguarding the authority of the pope in all matters concerning reform. The title reads, 'In all things the authority of the Apostolic See shall remain intact.' The Bull of Confirmation at the close of the Council also specifies that the pope is the ultimate interpreter of the meaning of all the decrees of the Council: 'But if anything therein should appear to anyone to have been expressed and defined in an obscure manner and for that reason stands in need of some interpretation or decision, let him go up to the place which the Lord has chosen (Deut. 17: 8), namely, to the Apostolic See, the mistress of all the faithful, whose authority the holy council also has so reverently acknowledged.' See *CDCT* 1978: 271. Thus Donal Nugent wrote that the council was 'instrumental in the rehabilitation of papal leadership,' and it 'effectively

Now, let any one consider with himself by what limits that authority is bounded, or how far it extends. Does not a preliminary of this kind just mean, that the Popes may order anything to be lawful that they please? What remedy, pray, do they bring by so acting? None of the things which they undertake to correct have hitherto been practised as if permitted by common law, but what the laws prohibited was done with impunity by means of dispensations. Accordingly, those guilty of abuses never alleged that they observed the strict rule, but having been set free from law, they thought they might do what otherwise in itself was not lawful. The Neptunian Fathers now provide that the future shall be no better, by making a special proviso *that the power of the Roman Court shall suffer no diminution*. For though a thousand knots of laws were tied, the sword of Alexander is unsheathed to cut them all at once. Could they more openly mock the Christian world? Why do I say mock? Could they more grossly insult the expectation of good, than when they deliver thus distinctly, and with barbarian haughtiness, that *they will set no bounds to the unbridled tyranny of the Pope*? Callous as those who live under the Papacy have become to all evils, it might be said that on this one matter they had forgotten their bondage, I mean, in not only freely lamenting but crying aloud that the church was ruined by dispensations. All eyes were turned to the venerable Fathers, sitting like strict and zealous censors to check the abuse. *After pondering for eighteen months they declare their approval of ancient discipline, provided the Roman See retain its right of dispensing as before*. In other words, the laws are to be so far enforced that liberty to violate them shall not be gratuitous, but may be purchased. And that *the Pope may not be prevented by modesty from boldly exercising the power*, they confirm him in the title of Universal Bishop, which Gregory calls nefarious, blasphemous, abominable, and the forerunner of Antichrist, while they leave nothing more to the Bishops than to be his Vicars¹²⁰⁸ (*italics mine*).

Calvin's sensitive psyche regarding the supreme authority of the pope shines through in this text. He held out no hope for the prospect of the Roman Catholic Church under such papal primacy and supremacy.¹²⁰⁹

Thus ended Calvin's critique of the first period of the Council of Trent. We do not find him writing any more 'Antidote' to the decisions of the later sessions of the Council. For this reason, we cannot determine precisely what his views on the reform decisions of the subsequent sessions were. Yet, his view on the pope in recalling the Council in 1551 cannot escape notice. This is found in his dedication letter of his Commentary on James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1 John, and Jude. In addressing King Edward VI of England on 24 January 1551, Calvin wrote extensively on the pope and the Council of Trent.¹²¹⁰ In the main, this address concerns two points.

acknowledged the primacy of Rome, and Rome reserved the right to interpret its decrees.' See Nugent 1974: 226.

¹²⁰⁸ CO 7: 504-5; T&T 3: 186-7.

¹²⁰⁹ CO 7: 506; T&T 3: 187: 'I will spend no more time in exposing their impudence. But as all see that they are worse than hopeless, every one who is wise will in future disregard their decrees, and be in no dubiety about them.'

¹²¹⁰ Cf. also the dedicatory letter to the second edition of the *Commentary on Acts* in 1560, in which Calvin attacked the pope, who again, as the Roman Antichrist, having taken the place of Christ as head of the church, had cut off the body of Christ from her Head, and as a result the church under the pope was no church at all. Under this circumstance, the Tridentine fathers gathered at Bologna could

First, he inveighed against the pope for destroying the gospel by means of a 'masked council.' Second, he could not, as before, trust the newly recalled papal council. Again, both points have to do with the pope, whom Calvin addressed bluntly as the 'Roman Antichrist' in the beginning of the dedication. Two excerpts will suffice to illustrate them:

In the meantime, *to complete the last tragedy of crucifying the Son of God*, the Pope himself is said to have summoned again his own masked council. Though he marches with his savage band of robbers to obliterate the name of Christ and to strangle His Church, yet every kind of council is to him as a sacred sword, forged for the solemn ritual of sacrifice. Thus, when Paul III had resolved to kill and destroy all who preferred to defend the truth to their own life, he made a show at Trent of that odious spectre, though disguised in fine colours, so that he might put an end to the Gospel as it were by crack of doom. But, when the good Fathers had begun to dazzle the eyes of the simple by the gleams of the various sessions, all that preparation vanished in smoke by a secret and sudden blast from the holy seat, except that for the purpose of continuing the terror, a little cloud rested for a time on Bologna.

... But let us grant, what is hardly credible, that the Pope and his band seriously intend to call a council. In that case Christ will not at first sight be assailed by such crude mockery. Indeed the greater the fame of the seriousness and splendour of the Papal council, the more harmful will it be to the Church, and the more dreadful pest it will prove. It cannot possibly be hoped, that *an assembly which is assembled under the authority of Antichrist*, will be governed by the Spirit, or that the slaves of Satan will exercise any moderation. In the first *place the Pope, who is the professed and sworn enemy of Christ*, would occupy the chief place of authority. Though he would be careful to pretend to ask the opinions of the Fathers sitting there, yet because they are terrified by his presence they would all follow what would please him alone. In an assembly fully agreeing in every impiety, what need would there be of dissimulation? I have no doubt that every one of the cardinals is like that. In that very college which purports to be a holier senate, there clearly prevails an Epicurean contempt of God, an obstinate hatred of truth, and a rabid fury against all believers. As for the order of bishops, does it not consist nearly of the same monsters, except that many among them are lazy asses, who neither openly despise God, nor hostilely oppose sound doctrine, but are so enamoured with their own depraved state, that they cannot bear any reformation? Add to this the fact that *authority will rest almost wholly with the few* who are far removed from any concern for true religion, and who will show *themselves the keenest supporters of the Roman See*; others will make up the number. As every one of these will speak the most terrible things against us, there will be many not only of the lesser ranks, but also of the princes, who will give their agreement either willingly and gladly according to their own inclinations, or from ambition, or from fear¹²¹¹ (*italics mine*).

The conclusion is clear. Calvin's critique of Trent revealed his deep-rooted reason for rejecting the primacy of the pope. The pope, with his supreme authority, crucified Christ and strangled his church by perverting the purity of the gospel by means of the Council of Trent. For this reason, Calvin could not remain silent but rose to

not represent the church at all. Note that in this dedication, Calvin described in greater depth the role of Christ as Head, which the pope did not fulfil but in fact had violated and destroyed.

¹²¹¹ CO 14: 30-3; CNTC 12: 219-22.

protest.¹²¹² That explains why Calvin's critique of the Council of Trent was the highest point in the history of his rejection of the papacy.

5.6. Refutation of the Augsburg *Interim* (1548)

In May 1547, the papal legates had transferred the Council to the papal city of Bologna. This move aroused widespread protest from the Protestants and the Emperor, who knew that only a council held on German soil could have any prospect of winning the trust of the Protestants. The Emperor attempted to persuade the pope to return the Council to Trent. But the pope, though himself surprised by the move of the Council to Bologna, refused to revoke the fixture. Despite the opposition of the Emperor, the Council at Bologna went on its discussions, although it made no resolution.¹²¹³ As for the Emperor, he had defeated the Smalcald League at the Battle of Mühlberg in April 1547. He knew that the cause of the present confusions had its deep root in religious divisions. In order to restore peace, the religious issue had to be settled.¹²¹⁴ He then ordered the Diet of Augsburg to meet in September 1547. All efforts were made to work out a provisional or 'interim' settlement. After a first draft and then a revision, the Emperor published the 'Imperial Clarification of Religion,' known as the *Interim*, on 15 May 1548.¹²¹⁵ It was in fact drafted by Roman Catholics Julius Pflug and Michael Helding in cooperation with the Lutheran Johannes Agricola. This would serve as a creed and law for the Protestants until a General Council could be held again. Not surprisingly, the *Interim* received widespread opposition. The Protestants knew that its endorsement would be the preliminary to accepting the decrees of Trent. The Wittenbergers rejected the *Interim* and produced their own version, the Leipzig *Interim*, in December 1548.

5.6.1. The Primacy of the Roman Pontiff in the *Interim*

In order to properly evaluate Calvin's response to the primacy of the pope formulated in the *Interim* we should put the *Interim* in context. This involves two points.

¹²¹² CO 14: 32; CNTC 12: 221: 'When this prince of impiety so wickedly tramples upon the glory of our God and the salvation of men, does it become us by our silence to betray this sacred cause? Certainly not; we ought to undergo a hundred deaths, if that were possible, rather than suffer such unworthy, wicked, and barbarous oppression of sound doctrine to continue unknown through our cowardice.'

¹²¹³ Jedin 1947: 416-7.

¹²¹⁴ CO 7: 549-50.

¹²¹⁵ See ARC 6: 308-48; CO 7: 545-90. In fact, in many places, Pflug made use of the *Regensburg Book* composed by Gropper with Bucer's assistance. See Eells 1971: 394. That explains why the chapter on the Supreme Pontiff is so close to the ideas in the *Regensburg Book*, though in a more concise form.

The first is the political context. The demand to comply with the *Interim* was backed by the political and military might of the Emperor. Thus, even though the pope disliked the intervention of the Emperor, in the face of a mighty Imperial power he could only tolerate the arrangement. On the side of the Protestants, political pressures from the Emperor could also be tangibly felt. With his recent victory over the Smalcald League in the background, the Emperor demanded the acceptance of the *Interim*. The south German cities bowed to the pressure. In time, the recalcitrants were forced to leave their cities. To name but a few, Osiander was expelled from Nuremberg, and Musculus from Augsburg. Even Bucer became a fugitive from Strasbourg on 6 April 1549. The Wittenbergers negotiated laboriously to produce their version, the Leipzig *Interim*.¹²¹⁶ It was the might of this political pressure that explains why Calvin was unsure whether the magistrates of Geneva would give permission to publish his reply to the *Interim*.¹²¹⁷

The second concerns the article on the Supreme Pontiff. Although the Augsburg *Interim* had made concessions to the Protestants,¹²¹⁸ the document was still very much a Catholic statement. The way the office of the pope (Chapter XIII) was described should be underlined. It should be remembered that the Council of Trent did not issue a decree on the office and power of the pope. It simply asserted and confirmed his authority, notably in the short preliminary to the reform decree of the Seventh Session. But the Emperor knew that in order to achieve unity between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, the issue of papal primacy had to be handled carefully. He had to guarantee the pope's position while not giving too much offence to the Protestants. In other words, a compromise article had to be hammered out in the Augsburg *Interim*.

The chapter on the Supreme Pontiff and bishops consists of three parts. It began with the need of the church for one head to keep its unity. Although it affirmed the primacy of the Supreme Pontiff by divine right with plenitude of power, the emphasis fell on his unique role as the head of the church to maintain unity and avert schism. The second part described the Supreme Pontiff as the one who held the chair of Peter. Since Christ said to Peter, 'Feed my sheep,' He gave Peter the right to govern the whole church. Therefore the Supreme Pontiff had the legitimacy to govern the whole church. The third part described the way the pope ought to exercise his plenitude of power. It was not for destruction but for edification. It also added that besides the Roman Pontiff, other bishops were also true bishops by divine right.

¹²¹⁶ Cameron 1991: 347-8; Eells 1971:391-400.

¹²¹⁷ CO 13: 110.

¹²¹⁸ Two articles concerning communion under both kinds and the marriage of priests signalled its intention of giving concessions to the Protestants.

They also shared in the care of the church according to the command of Christ. The conclusion was that Christian people should obey the Supreme Pontiff as well as their bishops.

Thus, not unlike Article XIX in the *Regensburg Book*, this article endeavoured to maintain a fine balance between the supreme power and pastoral functions of the pope. In particular, it described the office of the Supreme Pontiff as something the church really needed for the sake of its unity and edification. His role and function in providing a center of unity and pastoral leadership should be acceptable to the Protestants.¹²¹⁹ This might explain why Melanchthon was totally quiet about the chapter on the Supreme Pontiff in his *Thoughts on the Interim* (1548),¹²²⁰ even though he did have a section on the church and bishops.¹²²¹

5.6.2. Calvin's Response

It appears that it was Bullinger who was the first person to ask Calvin to compose a refutation of the *Interim* in a letter on 14 July 1548.¹²²² In a letter on 10 August 1548 Calvin confided to Farel that he had asked Bucer's advice for this proposal.¹²²³ Eventually Calvin took up his pen and wrote a sharp response to the *Interim*.¹²²⁴ The work came out on the first day of January 1549, which printed the full text of the *Interim* followed by Calvin's own remarks.¹²²⁵ It was an instant

¹²¹⁹ One may even say that it could serve as a model sample for ecumenical thought today.

¹²²⁰ CR 7: 48-62; Melanchthon 1988: 155-67. Melanchthon had reservation about Luther's absolute rejection of the primacy of the pope by divine right as well as by human ordinance in the *Smalcald Articles* (Luther's theological testament) before he attended the theologians' assembly at Smalcald in 1537 (Brecht 1993b: 180). At that time, he 'was willing to concede that the pope had superiority over the bishops, as long as he permitted the gospel' (Brecht 1993b: 182). After the representatives of the Smalcald League did not adopt Luther's *Articles* and turned to examine the Augsburg Confession and the Wittenberg Concord, Melanchthon was asked to write a positional statement on the papacy. It was in this context that he wrote the *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope* in which, 'in accordance with the wishes of those who had given him the assignment, he refrained from making any concessions to the papacy and emphasized its anti-Christian character' (Brecht 1993b: 184). It should be noted that the theologians' deliberations on the primacy of the pope on 18 November 1540 did not touch on the pope's primacy by human right. Moreover, at that time Melanchthon was still corresponding with Luther, updating him of the events of the colloquies. But by 1548 Luther was no longer living. One can understand Melanchthon's softened attitude in this context.

¹²²¹ By contrast, Melanchthon's silence only served to highlight Calvin's sensitivity towards the primacy of the pope. Luther had already noted that in the Augsburg Confession Melanchthon did not mention the papal Antichrist. See Wicks 1983: 112.

¹²²² CO 13: 7; see also *Bibli. Calviniana* 1: 310.

¹²²³ CO 13: 27. As a response to the *Interim*, Bucer wrote the *Ein Summarischer vergriff der Christlichen lehre und Religion, die man zu Strasburg hat nun in die xxviii jar gelehret*. See Eells, Martin Bucer, 396.

¹²²⁴ Cf. Stupperich (1973: 225-45)'s study of Osiander's critical response to the *Interim*.

¹²²⁵ *Interim adultero-germanum, cui adiecta est Vera Christianae pacificationis et ecclesiae reformandae ratio* (CO 7: 545-674); T&T 3: 189-357.

success.¹²²⁶ In 1549 it was printed two times and was translated into French and German in the same year.¹²²⁷

For our purpose we need concern ourselves with Calvin's response only to those chapters relating to the church and especially the one on the Supreme Pontiff and Bishops in particular.

5.6.2.1. Succession of Doctrine, not Office

Apart from true doctrine and the right use of the sacrament, the *Interim* made 'the Apostles and their successors' one of the signs of the true church (Ch. X).¹²²⁸ Instinctively, Calvin saw that this was designed to defend the tyranny of the papacy.

I know that this continuous succession is extolled by Irenaeus, Origen, Augustine, and some other ancient writers. But it is mere imposition to attempt to employ their testimony in defense of the tyranny of the Papacy, which has nothing in common with the ancient form of the Church.¹²²⁹

In Calvin's opinion, this teaching was wrong because the facts of church history told us otherwise. For several centuries the church had been so corrupt that it was destitute of true pastors. If the sign of the true church depended on the succession of bishops, the church must have ceased to exist for sometime. But the fact that the church continued to exist while she was destitute of true pastors demonstrated that the signs of the true church lay elsewhere.

Then he explained why the fathers appeared to have extolled a succession of bishops.¹²³⁰ For example, the background of Augustine's case was that he was contending with the Donatists:¹²³¹

Augustine objects to them, that the churches which they repudiated, and from which they had become schismatics, had flowed in uninterrupted succession from the Apostles. This he did on the best grounds, as the Donatists acknowledged that these churches *had persevered in the doctrine* which they had originally received¹²³² (*italics mine*).

In this way, Calvin argued that a theory of the succession of the Apostles or bishops could only be firmly established on the basis of a true and faithful succession of

¹²²⁶ Colladon (CO 21: 111) remarked that no one replied more courageously or with greater relevancy to 'ce malheureux Interim' than Calvin did.

¹²²⁷ *Bibli. Calviniana* 1: 312. But for the variations in the German edition, see de Greef 1993: 163.

¹²²⁸ CO 7: 562; T&T 3: 205.

¹²²⁹ CO 7: 611; T&T 3: 264.

¹²³⁰ Cf. Hall (1958: 113-133)'s study of the concept of apostolic succession.

¹²³¹ Cf. Ocker 1991: 179-201.

¹²³² CO 7: 611; T&T 3: 265.

doctrine.¹²³³ Thus, in a return to the fathers Calvin made the succession of the church depend not on the Roman concept of succession of office but on the patristic concept of Apostolic succession which was never divorced from the Apostolic faith.¹²³⁴ Those who had abandoned the faith could not be the successors of the Apostles.

For we deny the title of Successors of the Apostles to those who have abandoned their faith and doctrine. ... Would that the succession which they falsely allege had continued until this day: with us it would have no difficulty in obtaining the reverence which it deserves.¹²³⁵

This concept of succession by doctrine has special relevance for understanding Calvin's criticism of the pope's dependence on apostolic succession. Calvin wrote,

Let the Pope, I say, be the successor of Peter, provided he performs the office of an Apostle. Wherein does Succession consist, if it be not in perpetuity of doctrine? But if the doctrine of the Apostles has been corrupted, nay, abolished and extinguished by those who would be regarded as their successors, who would not deride their foolish boasting?¹²³⁶

Even if one supposes that Calvin's seeming concession to the pope here was not merely hypothetical but real due to political or ecclesiological considerations, the condition he laid down here equally indicated the bottom line of his concession. The pope should at least hold and teach sound doctrine if Calvin was to suspend his biblical and theological grounds for rejecting his primacy as such. This again confirms our observation that Calvin's attitude to the pope must ultimately be correlated to the pope's relation to doctrine.

¹²³³ Speaking of the nature of succession, Cullmann (1986: 56) echoed Calvin's position when he wrote, 'It is not evident that this succession occurs only by means of the bishop's office, especially since Peter's own episcopal office is something about which historians dispute, correctly or not. The concession made to a certain degree with regard to the way in which the apostolic succession of the episcopal office is understood shows that "succession" can also be seen as determined "primarily" in terms of content as "succession in faith," to which then the sign of the succession of the episcopal office on the basis of ordination as a guarantee of this faith is added in a merely supplementary fashion. This understanding of succession as "primarily" a matter of the content of the faith could also be applied to the successors of Peter.'

¹²³⁴ According to Chadwick (1994a: 10), Apostolic succession in the second century is 'a transmission of faith together with that recognized order of ministry which serves. So Irenaeus excludes from the apostolic succession heretics, schismatics, and orthodox bishops of evil life.' Cf. von Campenhausen 1997: 149-177; Meyendorff 1983b: 55-6. Hall (1958: 119) points out that 'St. Cyprian affirmed that it was the duty of the Christian people ... to disown the authority of a bishop who departed from apostolic doctrine (Ep. 69, *de Unitate* 10).'

¹²³⁵ CO 7: 611; T&T 3: 265.

¹²³⁶ CO 7: 611; T&T 3: 265.

5.6.2.2. A Supreme Pontiff over the Whole Church or A Functional Papal Office

Calvin's critique of the chapter on the Supreme Pontiff and the Bishops (Chapter XIII) reveals another interesting if not contradictory position regarding the possibility of a papal office. On the one hand, however pacifying the *Interim* had framed this chapter, when Calvin commented on the validity of its theological basis, he was uncompromisingly critical. Again, he categorically rejected the attempt to build the primacy of the Roman Pontiff on the ground that it was a privilege granted to Peter. Unlike Melancthon's silence in his *Thoughts on the Interim*, Calvin had decided that the ground of the primacy of the Supreme Pontiff as given in the *Interim* was unambiguously wrong.

Their appointing the Roman Pontiff over the whole church, a thing intolerable in itself, is to be more keenly repelled because of the pretence that it was a privilege granted to Peter.¹²³⁷

Christ's reason for commanding Peter to feed his sheep had an explanation other than what was given in the *Interim*. For Christ also commanded other Apostles to feed his sheep. Calvin's explanation was that, as Peter had fallen by denying Christ three times, so Christ thrice commanded Peter to feed the sheep in order to restore to Peter the honour of the Apostleship. Moreover, Calvin shrewdly pointed out that it was unreasonable to equate the 'sheep' in Christ's command with the whole church. Peter was indeed a shepherd of the sheep of Christ, but only of those among whom he laboured. He had no plenitude of power over the whole church. Then Calvin repeated in a more concise form his arguments against the primacy of Peter which he first produced in the 1543 *Institutio*—which again proves the importance of the 1543 *Institutio* for Calvin's anti-papal arguments.

On the other hand, however persistent was Calvin's rejection of these arguments for papal primacy, one discussion at the end of Calvin's arguments deserves closer attention. This concerns the function of the papal office in removing dissension. Admittedly, this was no new argument, since the *Regensburg Book* had upheld this classic Roman Catholic position. Calvin had consistently refuted its theological basis by pointing out the true nature of unity in the 1543 *Institutio* and then in the *Supplex exhortatio ad Carolum V*. But in his critique of this unifying function of the papal office in the *Interim*, Calvin's focus seemed to have shifted. Unfounded though it was theologically or biblically, Calvin seems to leave the papal office open to conciliar consideration. One brief statement from Calvin's pen appears

¹²³⁷ CO 7: 615; T&T 3: 270.

to be suggestive of this shift, although it was presented in a no less theologically critical manner. Calvin wrote,

But it is a useful remedy of removing dissension, they say, if one is preeminent whom all are compelled to obey. *Of this, then, let them leave the Church at liberty to consult*; and let them not pretend that an appointment which ought to be made on grounds of expediency (*ex usu*) was prescribed by the word of God¹²³⁸ (italics mine).

For the first time in Calvin's reply as to the usefulness of the papal office to restore unity to the church one hears him saying that the decision should be left to the consultation of the church.¹²³⁹ Admittedly, his opinion was no less influenced by the political context of the *Interim*. Moreover, the attitude with which he gave this statement was far from being enthusiastic. Yet, one still cannot deny that at this stage he allowed such a possibility to happen. One may infer that in the final analysis this could eventually lead to a free, general Council. At the same time Calvin's sharp theological mind did not allow anyone to pretend that the appointment of such a preeminent office could be based on the Word of God. In other words, this office could not be by divine right but for all practical purposes by human right which was deferred to the consultation of the church.

Calvin also cautioned that the power of such an office must not be allowed to become a license for tyranny, as had happened under the papacy. He used a very graphic and powerful language to make his point.

But even this expediency (*utilitas*) is falsely pretended, especially while the plenitude of power of which they boast breaks out into licentiousness, and can no more be separated from the tyranny than the fire can be separated from its own heat.¹²⁴⁰

In addition, the power of this office could not become a claim for a Universal Bishopric. Otherwise it became the claim of the Antichrist.¹²⁴¹ But above all, the foremost demand of Calvin was that the Roman Pontiff had to be a true bishop. And

¹²³⁸ CO 7: 618: 'At utile, inquiunt, remedium est, tollendis dissidiis, si unus emineat, cui cogantur omnes parere. *De hoc itaque liberam ecclesiae consultationem relinquunt*, nec fingant verbo Dei praescriptum esse, quod statui *ex usu* debet' (italics mine). T&T 3: 273 rendered the translation of the first sentence as: 'But it is a useful means of removing dissension, they say, that there be one of eminence who all are compelled to obey.'

¹²³⁹ Calvin's idea is very similar to the version of papacy accepted by Luther in the *Smalcald Articles* (SA II, 4, 7) of December 1536: 'And I assert that the pope should want to renounce his claim so that he would not be supreme in the church "by divine right" or by God's command. However, in order that the unity of Christendom might be preserved against the sects and heretics, we might accept a head in which all others are held together. Such a head would now be elected by the people and it would remain in their power and by their choice whether to change or depose this head.'

¹²⁴⁰ CO 7: 618; T&T 3: 273.

¹²⁴¹ CO 7: 618; T&T 3: 273.

his chief concern for a true bishop was that the latter must not extinguish the light of the gospel. Neither should he corrupt and profane the worship of God. Nor should he trample down the sacred institution of God.¹²⁴² In other words, a true bishop must preserve the *praecipua doctrina* as laid down in the *Supplex exhortatio ad Carolum V*, which was the body and soul of the church. Unfortunately, this quality was exactly what the Roman Pontiff did not have.

In conclusion, Calvin's critique of papal primacy in the *Interim* revealed a corrective vision of the place of the papal office in the church. While he consistently rejected the theological and biblical foundation of papal primacy, he allowed, though no less out of political and ecclesiological considerations of the time, the possibility of a papal leadership built upon the consultation of the church. In his conception of a permissible papal office, the medieval conception of papal supremacy was stripped away. The Roman Pontiff who was worthy of such an office had to be a true bishop, who took seriously the responsibility of his office to preserve the body and soul of the church.

5.7. Final Ecumenical Activities

There remain two main events to be examined in this chapter, both of which were still within the compass of the Tridentine period and related to the Council in a certain manner. The first relates to the Council in a more direct way. The second appears to be indirect but was no less thought-provoking.

5.7.1. Hope and Pessimism (1551)

On 14 December 1550, Pope Julius III issued a bull to resume 'the holy ecumenical and general Council'¹²⁴³ convoked by Paul III, this time returning the Council from Bologna to Trent. The express purpose of this resumption was

in order to put an end to the religious dissensions which for a long time have prevailed in Germany to the disturbance and scandal of the entire Christian world.¹²⁴⁴

The actual re-opening day was on 1 May 1551 (the Eleventh Session). When it reconvened, however, it was immediately postponed until 1 September, obviously due to a lack of delegates. An interesting letter dated 10 April 1551, written by Calvin to Bullinger, indicated Calvin's intention to go to Trent. Calvin wrote,

¹²⁴² CO 7: 618; T&T 3: 274.

¹²⁴³ CDCT 1978: 68.

¹²⁴⁴ CDCT 1978: 68.

It was not kind of you, when you knew that my course would lie in your direction when on my way to Trent, not to offer lodgings to at least one of us. You perhaps expect a new Bull which will admit us. We are not, however, of the number of those who obtain a place, either from right or custom, or the favour of the Apostolic See. We may accordingly remain at home.¹²⁴⁵

Bullinger's refusal was understandable because as Calvin's letter indicated, he and his companions had not been invited to the Council and had not been granted a safe passage to Trent. The interesting question is why Calvin wanted to go, seeing that to do so would be at the risk of his life? Perhaps the reason could be found in Julius III's express purpose of reconvening the Council. Calvin was still genuinely concerned about how to put an end to the religious divisions between the Roman Catholics and Protestants. His thoughts on the *Interim* regarding restoring church unity might still have lingered in his mind, despite his negative evaluation of the dogmatic and reform decrees of the first seven sessions of Trent. Even though he was distrustful of the pope, his deep concern for the church did not allow him to stay away.¹²⁴⁶ This is consistent with his clear distinction between the papacy and the Church. At any rate, the final break, as signalled by the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, had not arrived yet.¹²⁴⁷ For Calvin there was still some space for work. This movement of Calvin could be of great ecumenical implications.

But Calvin's hope of going to Trent could not materialise in any way, because on 28 May 1552, the Council was again suspended indefinitely, this time for another ten years.

After about nine years Calvin's attitude to the Council of Trent seemed to take another turn. This time he was more pessimistic about the prospect. This is expressed in a letter dated 26 February 1561, in which Calvin answered the church of Paris. The letter itself indicates that there was rumour about the resumption of the Council. The church of Paris apparently had asked Calvin's advice as to what they should do about the Council if it reassembled. Calvin's advice was that they needed not concern themselves about the Council:

With regard to the point about which you ask our advice, we have not yet heard any thing of it; though by common rumour it has come to our ears that a council was to be assembled. No one has even feigned that there was any necessity for informing us about it. Now we did not know if it would be advisable to intermeddle, for there are many heads difficult to manage. At present we shall tell

¹²⁴⁵ CO 14: 100; LJC 2: 309.

¹²⁴⁶ Nijenhuis (1994b: 24) reminds us very well: 'In the sixteenth century the aspiration towards unity was dominated first and foremost by the question of whether, how, and on what grounds the breach in the Western Church could be healed. ... Indeed, the main thrust of the Reformers' effort was not in the direction of the splintering of Christendom through the establishment of separate churches of their own, but towards the reforming of the one Church in head and members.'

¹²⁴⁷ Cameron 1991: 348-9; Nijenhuis 1994b: 25.

you, in a few words, our opinion. It is that you have no occasion to concern yourselves about the council, nor to send to it either confession or protestation. First, for an excellent reason, it would not be received, nor would there be any means of presenting it; and even if that would be done, you would only give occasion for stirring up violent tumults without any useful results. For your enemies would have excellent pretexts for falling foul of you outrageously, as having exposed the country to civil wars. Moreover, you ought to let the danger pass by, because there will be abundance of other opponents, and it is possible they will be asking for a great deal more than they are authorized to do.¹²⁴⁸

The pessimism chiefly lay in Calvin's view of the Council. It was not a truly Catholic or legitimate council. It would only persist in its errors. More importantly, the pope's concern was not the interest of the church, and he would not give up his tyranny:

When you shall have considered every thing closely, you will find that there is neither opening nor grounds for your interference, and that in this matter you will do well to fold your hands and sit still. The reason is different with respect to the Estates. For there it will be necessary for you to endeavour to make all the remonstrances in your power, that the council is neither Catholic nor legitimate, seeing that it is but a continuation of what has been done heretofore, to ratify resolutions full of errors and blasphemies, and entirely contrary to the word of God. There will be no liberty to examine the matters which are the subject of difference between us, nor to obtain any good reformation of abuses, *as the Pope seeks not to consult the necessities of the church, but only to maintain his own tyranny*¹²⁴⁹ (italics mine).

Now the interesting question is: under the shadow of such pessimism, did Calvin give up his hope of reunion? Would Calvin still admit the pope to be a partner in this reunion?

5.7.2. A Free, Universal Council (1560/2)

We have a record of a piece of writing in which Calvin's view of the Council and the pope appeared to have reached a level unheard of before, like one of his comments on the Supreme Pontiff in his critique of the *Interim* discussed above. This is the *Mémoire sur le concile*. This *Mémoire* has been variously dated December 1560 and March 1562.¹²⁵⁰ The editors of *Calvini Opera* placed it among the letters of December 1560, and so did Bonnet. But Bonnet gave the *Mémoire* the title 'To the Church of Paris' without naming it as *Mémoire sur le concile*, and treated the letter as Calvin's response to the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) which 'stipulated the convening of a general council for the reformation of abuses and the re-establishment of religious unity in Europe.'¹²⁵¹ The difference between the editors of *Calvini Opera*

¹²⁴⁸ CO 18: 377; LJC 4: 171-2.

¹²⁴⁹ CO 18: 377; LJC 4: 172.

¹²⁵⁰ See Nugent 1974: 55, n. 59. Cf. also CTB 5: 50, n.5; 58, n. 22.

¹²⁵¹ LJC 4: 158, note.

and Bonnet is that the former did not believe the content of the *Mémoire* justified the title Bonnet attached to it.¹²⁵² Judged from the content, this is indeed a *Mémoire* on a council. The question is which council the *Mémoire* refers to.

On 29 November 1560, the bull *Ad ecclesiae regimen* appeared, announcing the convocation of the general Council in Trent on Easter Sunday, 1561. This fits in very well the first date given to the *Mémoire*. Thus the council spoken of in Calvin's *Mémoire* could be related to the Council of Trent in its third period.

But there is one more significant piece of information. On 5 December 1560, Francis II died. Charles IX ascended the throne, with the queen mother Catherine de' Medici becoming the regent. Catherine indicated her approval of a general council on the condition that this would be a new council rather than simply a continuation of the old Council of Trent.¹²⁵³ Expectations of a new kind of council emerged. Even the bishop of Rennes, French ambassador to Vienna, sent his agent, a Dr. Beier, into Germany exploring the Protestants' attitudes toward the general council while intimating to them the views of Catherine. Beier also declared his mission to Bullinger, who, in turn, also described it to Calvin. It is believed that it was sometime during this period that Calvin wrote this *Mémoire* in which he revealed his conciliar thinking, which fits the dating of *Calvini Opera*.¹²⁵⁴ In this context, his *Mémoire* was a response to the possibility of a new kind of council, not the old continuation of the Council of Trent as conceived by Pius IV.¹²⁵⁵

On the other hand, the later dating, namely March 1562, is also plausible.¹²⁵⁶ Though the Colloquy of Poissy (9 September—14 October 1561) had failed,¹²⁵⁷ the Queen had not given up hope of another effort to achieve reconciliation between the Roman Catholics and the Reformed.¹²⁵⁸ Upon hearing of the pope's re-opening of the Council of Trent on 18 January 1562, and partly in a reaction to the pope's threat to deprive her of her crown,¹²⁵⁹ the Queen attempted to revive a French version of a

¹²⁵² CO 18: 285, note. But Stauffer (1986: 14) adopts the explanation of Bonnet.

¹²⁵³ Indeed, Catherine's idea is not something of a novelty. In the autumn of 1560, before his death, Francis II was in favour of a 'good Council *free* and general' (Francis II to the Pope, Nov. 5, 1560), as opposed to a mere continuation of the old Council of Trent. See Nugent 1974: 49.

¹²⁵⁴ See Nugent 1974: 54. Nugent, though undecided as regards the date, thought that Calvin's *Mémoire* could be dated around this period.

¹²⁵⁵ For details, see Nugent 1974: 37-55.

¹²⁵⁶ Evennett (1930: 448-52) locates Calvin's *Mémoire* in a later date.

¹²⁵⁷ The Colloquy of Saint-Germain (January 27-February 11, 1562), which was a sequel to the Colloquy of Poissy, also failed. See Nugent 1974: 190-8.

¹²⁵⁸ Beza (CTB 4: 17) wrote to Calvin on January 6, 1562, that Catherine 'inclines openly to our party.' Indeed, one result of the Colloquy of Poissy is that Catherine 'drew closer to the Reformed,' even though she was 'still making the effort to juggle contradictory policies.' Her son, the Duke of Orléans, 'actually joined the Calvinists.' She even issued a new edict on toleration, the notable Edict of January (1562). See Nugent 1974: 182, 189-190; also Lecler 1960b: 55-71.

¹²⁵⁹ Nugent 1974: 181.

general council in Germany. She sent a secret mission to Germany in order to secure support from the Duke of Württemberg, the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Philip of Hesse.¹²⁶⁰ Her effort met with no response. Eventually she was prepared to despatch her ambassadors and the bishops to join the Council in Trent. This was a last attempt to remodel the Council, transforming it to become a new council '*commode et libre*.'¹²⁶¹ It was likely that at this juncture she sought the advice of Beza, who in turn asked Calvin regarding the Queen's request. This is supported by Beza's letter to Calvin on 26 February 1562,¹²⁶² as well as Calvin's reference to Beza's letter in his letter to Bullinger on 12 March 1562.¹²⁶³ Both letters appear to relate to the *Mémoire*. In the latter, Calvin wrote,

The advice which Beza asked of me I had already sent to him in Latin, though I have preferred to render literally in barbarous style my French reply, rather than aim at expressing myself with the elegance of a pure Latinity.¹²⁶⁴ I have also endeavoured to be concise, but without, however, omitting anything that is essential.¹²⁶⁵

This evidence may suggest that Calvin's *Mémoire* was used to reply to the request of the Queen regarding the settlement of religious division by means of a general council as well as the Protestants' participation in that council. The Queen's request and Calvin's purpose in sending his *Mémoire* was spelt out in the same letter:

If I shall seem to have made more concession to the adverse party than I ought, you will remember that I was not at liberty to consult my own wishes. I was under the necessity of accommodating what I said to the capacity of the queen. I had two objects in view: first, that the Papists should repudiate our conditions, should they chance to be favourably received by the council, which it is certain they will be; next, if they shall be forced to submit to the yoke, that no council of any sort shall have in their power to do us any injury. I judged it more advantageous for us to sit in it as tribunes of the people, than being confounded with the senators to be overwhelmed by the majority of votes.¹²⁶⁶

Whichever the date is, the important thing is that we have Calvin's *Mémoire*, which reflects his thinking regarding his engagement with the papacy in a general council. It was not written for the Council of Trent but for a remodelled, free, general council.

¹²⁶⁰ Nugent 1974: 187-8.

¹²⁶¹ Evennett (1930: 448-9): 'Catherine herself would like nothing better than that her ambassadors at Trent should join with those of the Emperor and representatives of Elizabeth in formulating their case against the papal policy and in demanding a new, free and impartial Council.' Nugent (1974: 199, n. 78) also thought that Calvin's *Mémoire* could be dated around this period.

¹²⁶² CO 19: 301. The Queen asked Beza earnestly upon what conditions a free and Christian council should be established, and Beza asked Calvin to give him advice on the earliest occasion. Cf. also CTB 4: 50, n.5, 58, n. 22.

¹²⁶³ CO 19: 328; LJC 4: 263-4.

¹²⁶⁴ Exactly there is a Latin version of the *Mémoire*. See CO 10: 176-8.

¹²⁶⁵ CO 19: 328; LJC 4: 263-4.

¹²⁶⁶ CO 19: 328; LJC 4: 264.

Even when the Council of Trent had issued its safe-conduct on 4 March 1562, extending invitation to 'the dissidents of all countries and regions where doctrine contrary to that of Rome was legally preached,'¹²⁶⁷ the Huguenot ministers remained unmoved. In fact, for the French ministers Calvin's *Mémoire* constituted a counter-proposal for a genuine general council, providing in effect the theological ground for the French Calvinists' repugnance against the Council of Trent. Thus, in its historical context Calvin's *Mémoire* showed no compromise on the Council of Trent on his part. Nevertheless, even with his firm attitude, it reveals new insights into Calvin's view of the pope's role in resolving the big question of the division between the Roman Catholics and Protestants. It also enables us to see his priorities in theological discussion when such a free council became possible.

The opening statement of the *Mémoire* suggests that in Calvin's mind, if the religious division between the Roman Catholics and Protestants was to be resolved at all, a general council was the only solution.¹²⁶⁸ The fact that it had to be a free, general council indicates that this was a Protestant version, as Luther had demanded in the early days of the Reformation.¹²⁶⁹ It could not be a continuation of the old Council of Trent, or at least the Council of Trent had to be drastically revised.

It is noteworthy that the advice given in this *Mémoire* as regards the place, the kind of persons and the manner of proceeding followed the guideline Calvin had laid down in the 1543 *Institutio* regarding a council.¹²⁷⁰ This again shows the importance of the 1543 *Institutio*. With respect to persons, for example, it could not be accepted that only bishops could have the decisive voice in it. For they were the people who had vowed allegiance to the pope. For this reason they could not be competent judges. The remedy was that there should also be elected persons out of different parties. These people, even though they did not possess a deciding vote, should be given the right 'to oppose all resolutions repugnant to the word of God.'¹²⁷¹

What is spectacular about Calvin's advice is that there was a place for the pope too. Although this is understandable since all proceedings or decisions of major colloquies had to be remitted to Rome and be submitted to the scrutiny of the

¹²⁶⁷ Evennett 1930: 449.

¹²⁶⁸ CO 18: 285; LJC 4: 158: 'To put an end to the divisions which exist in Christendom, it is necessity to have a free, universal council.' Courvoisier (1965: 100) also thinks that Calvin took the possibilities of the general council seriously.

¹²⁶⁹ But Luther had given up hope of a free, general Council in the face of the condemnation and stubbornness of Rome. Calvin's demand in the 1560s is nothing less than spectacular by comparison.

¹²⁷⁰ *Institutio* (1543): 217.

¹²⁷¹ CO 18: 286; LJC 4: 159.

pope,¹²⁷² Calvin's concession is no less surprising, given his persistent opposition to the pope's primacy. Obviously, Calvin understood that a sincere, good will for peace on the Protestants' part had to take into consideration the role of the pope. On the other hand, he was also convinced that the position of the pope could not be the same as it was confirmed to him in the Council of Trent. Thus, he set limits to the role and power of the pope.

First, the pope was not to preside as chief. It could not be allowed that the pope made everything depend on himself and on his own pleasure. But even if '*le premier lieu*' was given to the pope, that is, the presidency of the council, his power had to be carefully qualified. 'In all things,' the pope should

submit to the council, and take an oath to observe whatever should be decided and concluded in it, abdicating the domination which he has usurped.¹²⁷³

Effectively, the pope's role in the council was reduced to a functional presidency. In the same way, the bishops should swear to conform to and support the decisions of the council. In this design, the bishops' allegiance was not to the pope, but to the council itself.

As to the manner of proceeding, the emphasis was on free discussion, whether orally or in writing.

It is requisite then that whatever is ill-advised may be redressed, and also that it be permitted to reply to all erroneous opinions by sound and conclusive reasons.¹²⁷⁴

The order of discussion must be clearly set out. In Calvin's view, this order should include three key areas. Again, these were in fact comprehended under the *praecipua doctrina* as laid down in the *Supplex exhortatio ad Carolum V* (1543). The significance of its contents is that it demonstrates effectively that the *praecipua doctrina* as given in Calvin's presentation to Charles V were not just some accidental thinking arisen in the context of 1543 but rather reflect the very conviction of Calvin's thinking regarding what *necessariae doctrinae* should be upheld by the church in his debate with Rome. The first group concerns the worship of God and the doctrine of salvation, which was the 'soul' of the church as described in the *Supplex exhortatio*. The second and third groups concern the ceremonies and government of the church, which, according to the *praecipua doctrina*, refer to the 'body' of the church.

¹²⁷² The Colloquy of Regensburg of 1541 is one clear example. Even the Colloquy of Poissy, termed by Donald Nugent as 'the last great religious colloquy of the sixteenth century,' is no exception. See Nugent 1974: 76-7, 228.

¹²⁷³ CO 18: 286; LJC 4: 159.

¹²⁷⁴ CO 18: 286-7; LJC 4: 159-60.

It is instructive to note that Calvin did not include a discussion on the office of the pope or his primacy. It is as if for Calvin this issue could be suspended. Clearly, the priority has been given to the *praecipua doctrina*. This is the case since he even allowed the pope the presidency in his version of a free council, although his power was heavily truncated by Calvin.

The analysis of this *Mémoire* yields the following conclusions. First, it shows that Calvin was still concerned about the unity of the church at large, and this unity extended to the Roman Catholic Church. He conceded presidency to the pope in the council but in a highly qualified manner. The pope could lead the council but was not granted supremacy of power—Calvin's consistent rejection of papal primacy had not been compromised. The pope was given presidency solely for the sake of resolving doctrinal differences. Needless to say, this arrangement is of great ecumenical implications. Calvin's paramount concern was for the purity (of doctrine) and unity of the church. If the church was given an opportunity to resolve these issues, the pope could play a crucial role in the whole process.

5.8. Conclusion

The five important documents studied in this chapter witness to the fact that Calvin's critique of the papacy had progressively entered a climactic stage. In the *Supplex exhortatio ad Carolum V*, Calvin defended the cause of the Reformation before the Emperor and the princes. To justify the churches of the reformers, the charge of schism had again to be answered. Again, he answered uncompromisingly, denying the Roman Catholic claim that the pope was the centre of unity for the church. But this time, the problem of church unity and the marks of the true church were clearly coupled together in his combat against the pope's primacy. For Calvin, only Christ was the true Head and the centre of the church. In concrete terms this unity was expressed in the church's common allegiance to *pure doctrine*. The pope did not have any of this while he usurped Christ's headship in the church. Even if Calvin could in principle accept an episcopal hierarchy in the church, the pope was excluded from this hierarchy, for he was rejected as a destroyer of the church in the severest terms. On the other hand, as Calvin had time and again accused the pope of being devoid of sound doctrine and of persecuting true doctrine, this document also furnished us with the idea of *praecipua doctrina* that Calvin deemed to be essential for the church. An understanding of this *praecipua doctrina* shows why Calvin was so critical of the papacy in his later *Antidote* to the Council of Trent.

Despite the conciliarist tendency of the Faculty of theology of the University of Paris, Calvin had no regard for its articles concerning the church, the Councils, and the authority of the pope. Calvin discerned that all these formulations were in the final analysis designed to defend the pope's primacy, and he ridiculed and rejected them one by one. He became even all the more vehement when he learned that Paul III had written a fatherly advice to the Emperor advising the latter against the prospect of a General or national Council with the Protestants. The pope's advice demonstrated that he had no concern for the reformation of the church in doctrine and morals. Calvin could not but rise to refute the pope's relentless grip on his own power.

But the climax of Calvin's criticism of the papacy came when the Council of Trent was finally convened in 1545. Calvin's suspicion of the pope clearly shone through in his preface to the readers in his *Antidote*. The legates, bishops and theologians in Trent were for Calvin nothing but instruments of the pope in establishing his tyranny, crucifying Christ and strangling his church by perverting the purity of the gospel by means of the Council. For the first time, Trent provided Calvin with fresh dogmatic formulations which proved to contradict the sound doctrine of Christ as delineated in his *praecipua doctrina*. Before Calvin's eyes the pope had perverted the pure doctrine of Christ by this Council and thus justified his ultimate rejection of the papacy.

Against this background, the Emperor's effort in orchestrating the Augsburg *Interim* met with no less suspicion by Calvin. The more or less conciliatory article on the primacy of the pope in the *Interim* was refuted by the sharp theological mind of Calvin. For Calvin, succession of office and succession of doctrine could not be separated from each other. He also rigorously rejected the formulation of a supreme Pontiff over the whole church for the sake of preserving unity. Christ had not commanded such a primacy in the Scripture. However, given the absoluteness of Calvin's firm attitude in opposing the pope's primacy, it is no less enlightening to see him giving a corrective vision of the function of the papal office in the church. A functional papal office with circumscribed power could play a role in the church, but this should be left to the consultation of the church. This was not a concession on the part of Calvin, although one can feel that he wrote this out of the political pressure in which the reformers found themselves at that time. At the same time, his concern for the unity of the church as well as its purity might play no less a part in this idea. This could be illustrated by his intention to go to Trent in its second period, although the trip could not be realised. But his conception of a unified church with the pure doctrine of Christ restored in it was given a general outline of task in the *Mémoire*

sur le concile in 1561 (or 1562). This had to be done by a free, universal Council. The pope could be given '*le premier lieu*' but his role was a functional presidency.

CHAPTER SIX: NO COMPROMISE & A FINAL CONFESSIONAL STATEMENT

6.1. Introduction

This chapter studies the final phase of Calvin's critique of the papacy. Strictly speaking, this is not a phase at all. It only records his attitude to the papacy prior to his death. Timewise, the first two documents it examines are close to Calvin's *Mémoire* discussed in the final part of the previous chapter. We only set them apart for the reason that the *Mémoire* is in a sense related to the Council of Trent. The first document allows us to see in a climactic form the limits of Calvin's ecumenical vision. The second is a final, formal statement of Calvin's rejection of the papacy. The last episode records Calvin's deathbed attitude to the papacy, which can round off his view of the negative side of the papacy. With this treatment, our study of Calvin's critique of the papacy during his career as a reformer can come to a close.

6.2. The Critique of George Cassander's Irenicism (1561)

6.2.1. The Background

If the *Mémoire* ever gave the impression that Calvin would concede to the papacy with regard to the position of the pope in the church and that ecclesiological unity with Rome could be achieved without too much painful efforts, then his answer to a work published by George Cassander in August 1561 will swiftly dispel this enthusiasm.

Cassander of Cologne, 'the irenical Flemish Catholic theologian,'¹²⁷⁵ was invited by Anthony of Bourbon, king of Navarre, to participate in the Colloquy of Poissy (9 September—14 October 1561).¹²⁷⁶ Prevented by illness, Cassander wrote the *De officio pii ac publicae tranquillitatis vere amantis viri in hoc religionis dissidio*.¹²⁷⁷ The tract, composed of thirty-eight pages, was entrusted to Francis Baudouin, his 'prophet,'¹²⁷⁸ to be delivered to the participants of the colloquy. Its aim, as Cassander informed the reader, was to suggest a supposedly 'easiest' method to settle religious controversies between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants.

¹²⁷⁵ Wright 1993: 260. Nugent (1974: 24) described him as 'perhaps the foremost irenicist of his day.'

¹²⁷⁶ The Colloquy of Poissy was described by Nugent (1974: 223) as 'the last resort of European ecumenism.'

¹²⁷⁷ This work was later included in Georg Cassander, *Opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia* (Paris, 1616), 781-791.

¹²⁷⁸ Nugent 1974: 24.

Calvin already knew that the anonymous tract published in Basel would be used in the colloquy.¹²⁷⁹ He believed that the tract was the work of Francis Baudouin, who had once been Calvin's secretary but was soon found to be wavering between Geneva and Rome.¹²⁸⁰ He wrote to Beza, who was representing Geneva at the colloquy, to warn him of the malicious intention of Baudouin's work.¹²⁸¹ But it was not Baudouin's person but the irenic ideas of the work itself that aroused Calvin's immediate rebuttal. On 1 October 1561, Calvin informed Beza that he had written a brief reply to Baudouin's work. On 7 October, Calvin's *Responsio ad versipellem mediatorem*¹²⁸² was on its way to Beza in Poissy. A French translation of Calvin's *Responsio* was also published in the same year.¹²⁸³ As a matter of fact, Cassander's work made no impact on the colloquy as it only reached it a few days before its dissolution.¹²⁸⁴ But Calvin's reply still provides valuable information regarding his attitude to Rome in the context of 'ecumenical' dialogue. It not only allows us to probe deeper into the limits of his 'ecumenism,' but also enables us to see that for Calvin the papacy was at the heart of other ecumenical problems.¹²⁸⁵

6.2.2. Cassander's *De officio*

The basic direction of Cassander's treatise can be seen from its introduction. He believed that the Roman Catholics and the Protestants agreed on the 'fundamentals of the religion.'¹²⁸⁶ The reform that was needed was basically moral and disciplinary, to remove superstitions and abuses that plagued the church. But to confront the authority and to turn the institution of the church upside down was no help to its renewal.¹²⁸⁷

In giving his opinion as to who or what the judge of the discussions between the Roman Catholics and the Reformed should be, Cassander opined that it was Holy Scripture that was the '*certum firmumque iudicium*.'¹²⁸⁸ But he did not actually refer

¹²⁷⁹ According to Stauffer (1974: 137), Calvin had 'un large réseau d'informateurs.'

¹²⁸⁰ See Beza's *Ioannis Calvini vita* in CO 21: 158; cf. CO 21: 92 and Beza 1997: 90-2; Nugent 1974: 25, n. 35.

¹²⁸¹ CO 18: 684: 'Insidiae vobis tenduntur, ut discussa praesenti actione omnia conturbent. In eum finem editus fuit libellus Basileae, cuius autorem suspicor Balduinum et paene pro certo habeo.'

¹²⁸² *Responsio ad versipellem quendam mediatorem, qui pacificandi specie rectum Evangelii cursum in Gallia abrumpere molitus est* (CO 9: 525-560). Higman (1997: 136) classified Calvin's reply under his works against the compromisers.

¹²⁸³ It was included in *Recueil des opuscules* published by Baptiste Pinereul in Geneva in 1566, pp. 1885-1918.

¹²⁸⁴ Nugent 1974: 177.

¹²⁸⁵ For the following two sections, I am indebted to Stauffer (1974: 135-53)'s analysis. But while Stauffer's analysis of Calvin's reply is based on the French text, I follow the handy Latin original.

¹²⁸⁶ Cassander 1561: 3.

¹²⁸⁷ Cassander 1561: 4.

¹²⁸⁸ Cassander 1561: 5.

to the text of Scripture itself but to the '*Scripturarum intelligentia*.' The latter in fact meant the common agreement and the public testimony of, for example, all churches.¹²⁸⁹ This is but another way of introducing 'tradition' into the current religious discussions as the arbiter of all debates.¹²⁹⁰ For Cassander, Scripture was something like an 'obsured and sealed tradition,' while tradition was 'explained and unsealed Scripture.'¹²⁹¹

Cassander distinguished two categories of religious questions. One pertained to doctrines, the other to ceremonies. Within the category of doctrinal questions, it was those which, though not attested by Scripture, tradition or the majority of the churches, yet were received in the church of the West because they did not apparently contradict Scripture, that were proper subjects of discussion. Even so, all parties concerned should engage debates with the greatest Christian prudence.¹²⁹²

As regards ceremonies, Cassander even hinted that the cup in the Eucharist should be restored to the lay people. As for the five sacraments, which in addition to baptism and the Lord's Supper constituted the seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, these should not be suppressed. For they were lawfully instituted by the apostles and their successors for the use of the church.¹²⁹³ Moreover, some rituals, though of little use by themselves, should be maintained for the sake of unity. Cassander admitted that some superstitions should be removed. But the responsibility of eradicating them belonged to the authority of the church.¹²⁹⁴

As regards ecclesiology, the church was to be identified by four marks. These are (1) the baptism; (2) the Scripture and the doctrine of the apostles; (3) the sacraments instituted by Christ; and (4) the uninterrupted successions of bishops.¹²⁹⁵ As the Roman church possessed these four marks, she did not deviate from the primitive church. It was admitted, though, that she was sometimes afflicted by diseases, and even oppressed by the tyranny of those that governed her.¹²⁹⁶ But Cassander was convinced that these evils should be tolerated for the sake of peace. As long as the foundation of apostolic doctrine was preserved intact, the hierarchy of

¹²⁸⁹ Cassander 1561: 6.

¹²⁹⁰ Stauffer 1974: 139.

¹²⁹¹ Cassander 1561: 6: 'Haec traditio nihil aliud sit, quam Scripturae ipsius explicatio et interpretatio: ita ut non inepte dici posset, Scripturam esse implicatam quandam et obsignatam traditionem, traditionem vero esse Scripturam explicatam et resignatam.'

¹²⁹² Cassander 1561: 9: '... Prudentiam eam christianam hic adhibendam, ut non temere et passim ubique dicas quicquid sentias, neque tamen unquam dicas contra quam sentias: ubi vero gloria Dei vel proximi utilitas postulat, libere et constanter dicas quod sentias.'

¹²⁹³ Cassander 1561: 9.

¹²⁹⁴ Cassander 1561: 13.

¹²⁹⁵ This is similar to the formulation in the *Interim*.

¹²⁹⁶ Cassander 1561: 14.

the church had to be supported invariably. Cassander did not even consider the possibility that apostolic doctrine could be corrupted by later generations. There might be errors in doctrine or traditions but they were not sufficient to deprive the church of its title.¹²⁹⁷

Before he concluded his thesis, Cassander considered the issue of schism. He was convinced that the Roman Catholics and the Evangelicals belonged to the same ecclesial organism on the basis of the fact that they shared a common Christology. In spite of some differences regarding rituals and ceremonies, they were truly brothers in the bond of love under Christ the Head.¹²⁹⁸ Together the Roman Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church constituted the church of Christ. Both of them conformed to the evangelical doctrine and apostolic tradition. The one kept the old name of 'Catholic,' while the other bore the new name of 'Evangelical.' A church that was built on the foundation of the true and apostolic doctrine contained in the symbol of the apostolic faith and did not separate herself from the communion of other churches by an impious schism was regarded by Cassander as a true church.¹²⁹⁹

In the last part of the work, Cassander suggested steps to achieve reunion. One may call these an 'ecumenical strategy.'¹³⁰⁰ He encouraged both parties to give up insulting naming of each other. Strategically, he proposed that a *tertium genus hominum* should be called from each party to work for the unity of the church. He commended that both parties should be ready to make concessions. They should at least agree on two non-controversial points, the death and resurrection of Christ *pro nobis* and the love of God and the neighbour. He also suggested that it would be futile to discuss subtle and difficult questions, such as the mystery of predestination.

6.2.3. Calvin's Response: The Limits of Calvin's Ecumenism with regard to the Papacy

Cassander's thesis was indeed a grand scheme of pacification in his time. But he soon met with Calvin's fierce criticism. Why was he so severe? Calvin believed that Cassander had misjudged the degree of corruptions that plagued the church. He had taken lightly the fundamental doctrinal differences that divided the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. He also did not go to the root of all the problems, that is the papacy.

¹²⁹⁷ Cassander 1561: 17: 'Neque errores tum doctrinae, tum humanarum traditionum ... ad auferendum Ecclesiae titulum sufficiunt.'

¹²⁹⁸ Cassander 1561: 20.

¹²⁹⁹ Cassander 1561: 24.

¹³⁰⁰ Stauffer 1974: 149.

For Calvin, what Cassander proposed amounted to saying that, however great were the vices of corruption or however serious the ills that troubled the church, they were 'not allowed to overthrow the authority of the holy Roman Church.'¹³⁰¹ Clearly, for Calvin, the diseases and vices of the church had reached a point that, if there were to be a true reform, the foundation of the Roman church had to be shaken, a view Cassander's thesis had forbidden.

Before discussing fundamental doctrinal issues, Calvin rejected Cassander's *Scripturarum intelligentia* as the authority of discussion. He saw that Cassander's purpose was in the final analysis to defend the *papatus impietas*, which had been defended for the past forty years—that is, ever since the Reformation started by Luther.¹³⁰² For Calvin, the Scripture was not a 'nose of wax' that one could bend according to one's will. Far from being obscure (*caliginosa*) or doubtful (*dubia*), the Scripture was clear (*clara*) and certain (*certa*), endowed with a clarity according to 2 Peter 1: 19 that made it useful for the believers (2 Tim. 3: 16).¹³⁰³ It was by the Scripture and by the clear words of Scripture alone that the church defeated heresies in the post-apostolic age.¹³⁰⁴ It was not, for example, the Council of Nicea but the prologue of the fourth Gospel that established the divinity of Christ. Against Cassander's tricky use of *Scripturarum intelligentia* as the arbiter of religious discussion, Calvin asserted *sola scriptura* as the only reliable guide.¹³⁰⁵

Calvin criticised Cassander for avoiding the real doctrinal differences between the two parties. In particular, he singled out the doctrines established by tradition. These did not teach clearly the corruption of our nature, the miserable slavery of life under the tyranny of sin, free justification and the invaluable merit of the sacrifice of Christ.¹³⁰⁶

¹³⁰¹ CO 9: 532.

¹³⁰² CO 9: 532: 'Neque tamen me latet hanc esse veterem et tritam cantilenam, qua iam annis quadraginta papatus impietas defensa fuit a suis patronis.'

¹³⁰³ CO 9: 533. Cf. esp. CTS *Comm.* 2 Pet. 1: 19-22, in which Calvin asserted the clarity of Scripture against the obscurantism of the papacy. Calvin published the commentary on James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1 John, and Jude in January 1551. Cf. Luther's *Defense and Explanation of All the Articles* (1521) which certainly laid the foundation for all subsequent Reformation defence of the clarity of Scripture: 'Holy Scripture must necessarily be clearer, simpler, and more reliable than any other writings. Especially since all teachers verify their own statements through the Scriptures as clearer and more reliable writings, and desire their own writings to be confirmed and explained by them. But nobody can ever substantiate an obscure saying by one that is more obscure; therefore, necessity forces us to run to the Bible with the writings of all teachers, and to obtain there a verdict and judgment upon them. Scripture alone is the true lord and master of all writings and doctrine on earth' (LW 32: 11-12).

¹³⁰⁴ CO 9: 533: 'Ego ... fortiter contendo apertis scripturae verbis devictos fuisse haereticos.'

¹³⁰⁵ CO 9: 533-4. For a discussion on Scripture and tradition in the early church, see Bruce 1970: 108-128.

¹³⁰⁶ CO 9: 535.

As regards questions touching ceremonies, Calvin reproved the author of *De officio* for not having demanded more expressly the restoration of the cup in the Eucharist to the people. Still, he did not reject all old ceremonies. Some were indifferent in so far as they did not contradict Scripture or encourage superstitions.¹³⁰⁷ But he could not accept Cassander's idea that despite their abuses some ceremonies should still be kept for the sake of unity. On the contrary, a review of the monstrous impiety of the papacy proved the impossibility of a union with the Protestant churches.¹³⁰⁸

It was Cassander's ecclesiology that elicited Calvin's severest critique. First, he rejected the identification of the church, by which Cassander meant the Western Church, with the Roman church. With respect to baptism, the first mark of the church described by Cassander, Calvin admitted that in spite of her errors, the Roman church under the papacy still possessed the *vestigia Ecclesiae* because she kept baptism. But having been baptised in the Roman church did not mean that it was necessary to stay in her. On the contrary, he who received the sacrament under the papacy should not hesitate to depart from it for the sake of obedience to Christ!¹³⁰⁹ This truly betrays Calvin's untiring opposition to the papacy. Just as God and his sacrament were opposed to the papacy, so to remain a Christian under the papacy was an impossibility.

As regards the second mark of the church suggested by Cassander, Calvin sarcastically asked: How could one speak of the authority of the Scripture when the '*papa cum suo clero*' were the '*solii interpretes*' of it?¹³¹⁰ How could one affirm as apostolic doctrine that which did not teach properly the remission of sins, the worship of God, the sacrifice of Christ, the corruption of human nature, the definition of faith and repentance, which together constituted the '*capitales articuli*' of religion?¹³¹¹ Clearly, he placed the authority of Scripture higher than all other authorities. He could not allow the pope and his clergy to be the sole interpreters of Scripture. The fact that they did not teach true doctrine but corrupted the '*capitales articuli*' of the church was clear proof that they could not be true interpreters of Scripture.

The third mark of the church suggested by Cassander was just as lacking in the Roman church. The Word of God was lacking in the sacraments under the

¹³⁰⁷ CO 9: 540.

¹³⁰⁸ CO 9: 542-4.

¹³⁰⁹ CO 9: 544: 'Nos baptismus noster, licet nobis in papatu administratus, vexilli instar, ex dissipatione colligere debet ad Christi obsequium: tantum abest ut impiae obstinationis vinculum sit.'

¹³¹⁰ CO 9: 544.

¹³¹¹ CO 9: 545.

papacy. 'A sacrament without the Word is a vain show and dead act.'¹³¹² Calvin also attacked the teaching of *ex opere operato*, the use of an unknown language in the worship of God, the corruption of the Lord's Supper, the withdrawal of the cup from the laity and many other corruptions.¹³¹³

As regards the fourth mark of the church, which Cassander advocated as the perpetual succession of bishops, Calvin chided the bishops as 'sacrificing priests' (*sacrifici*) who, while they sacrificed Christ, relieved themselves of the responsibility to teach, something which the apostles themselves were commanded to do. Moreover, the Reformed broke with the papacy only because of the 'impious errors' and the 'detestable profanation of the worship of God' under its government.¹³¹⁴ The Roman church had become the seat of the Antichrist (2 Thess. 2: 4). The builders had rejected the stone which God wished to be the foundation of the church (Psa. 118: 22).¹³¹⁵

When Calvin turned to the problem of schism that the irenical Cassander attempted to solve, he bluntly retorted that the Roman church could not be part of the true church for the simple reason that she did not possess the foundation of the church, which was Christ. In considering Christ, two things had to be taken into account: his nature (*essentia*), and his office and power (*officium ac virtus*). It was true that the Reformed agreed with the papists concerning the nature of Christ, as Cassander had observed. But with regard to the office and the power of Christ, they could not have greater disagreement. In this regard, the doctrine of the papacy (*papatus doctrina*) was corrupted and erroneous. The papists did not know the gift of God's grace in Christ. Rather, they spoke of freewill, of merits of works, of co-operation of man's will with the action of the Holy Spirit. They did not know that Christ was our sanctification. Even when the papacy spoke of Christ's name, it sounded '*nudum et inane*.'¹³¹⁶ The Reformed could not but withdraw from the refuse (*colluvie*) of the papacy.¹³¹⁷ The Christ the irenicism of the author of *De officio* offered was a '*multiplex et varius Christus*,' composed partly out of adulterous inventions and partly out of evangelical doctrine.¹³¹⁸

To Cassander's plan of promoting peace and reunion, Calvin again offered his sharp response. Without any quibble about his appeal to stop using insulting

¹³¹² CO 9: 545: '... quia sacramentum sine verbo inane ludicrum est, et actio mortua.'

¹³¹³ CO 9: 545-6.

¹³¹⁴ CO 9: 549.

¹³¹⁵ CO 9: 549.

¹³¹⁶ CO 9: 551.

¹³¹⁷ CO 9: 551. Cf. CO 9: 549: 'Sed communio, ad quam nos invitat censor, quorsum spectat, nisi ut in foetidis lustris, nefandae idololatriae innumerisque sacrilegiis et superstitionibus nomen demus.'

¹³¹⁸ CO 9: 554.

names, Calvin nevertheless pointed out that the author of the *De officio* still called the Reformed '*anticatholicus et Calvinianus*.'¹³¹⁹ The proposal for a neutral '*tertium genus hominum*' could in no way resolve the divisions of Christendom. It was a disguised form of Nicodemism, which he had been combating from the beginning of his reform career.¹³²⁰ Concessions and compromises were impossible. On the contrary, Calvin stated categorically that rather than setting up a *tertium genus hominum*, it was the papacy that had to go.

It is nothing surprising if we desire the tyranny of the papacy, which is harmful (hostile) as much to the salvation of man as to the glory of God, to be completely destroyed; because while she remains, neither religion, nor the worship of God, nor the kingdom of Christ, can be restored to its original state.¹³²¹

This is a most important statement. It indeed marked the summit of Calvin's rejection of the whole of the papacy in this reply.

With regard to the two non-controversial questions on which Cassander suggested the two parties agreed, Calvin pointed out that the author of the *De officio* did not even treat Christ's death properly. If one truly acknowledged the death of Christ, one should do away with the teaching of freewill and the merits of works, at the least.¹³²² Moreover, even though one should avoid discussing subtle questions which would lead believers nowhere, doctrines like the total depravity of man, regeneration, salvation by grace alone, the proper worship of God, right teaching on baptism and the Lord's Supper by no means belonged to them and must be taught.¹³²³

One can see that Calvin could hardly agree to the irenicism of Cassander. The division between Roman Catholic and Protestant was deeply doctrinal, not moral or liturgical. As Robert White has remarked,

Cassander's failure to appreciate the importance of ideology in religious debate has all the hallmarks of ineptitude.¹³²⁴

But as our examination has shown, at the heart of the cause of this division lay the corruption of the papacy that Calvin found beyond reform. At almost every point we

¹³¹⁹ CO 9: 554. On this point Stauffer (1986: 15) shrewdly observed that 'Cette réaction de Calvin montre bien qu'il ne se considérait pas comme un fondateur de secte et que la catholicité lui tenait à coeur.'

¹³²⁰ CO 9: 556.

¹³²¹ CO 9: 556: 'Tyrannidem papatus, quae non minus hominum saluti quam Dei gloriae inimica est, si cupimus deletam, nihil mirum, quando ea stante nec religio, nec Dei cultus, nec Christi regnum postliminio in suum gradum restitui queunt.'

¹³²² CO 9: 557.

¹³²³ CO 9: 557-8.

¹³²⁴ Cf. White 1982: 148.

found Calvin's blame on the papacy. To the papal church Calvin and the Reformed could not return and from it they could justly depart.

6.3. A Final Confessional Statement (1562)

We have here a document showing Calvin's final and formal statement on the papacy. This was a Confession of Faith (1562) drafted by Calvin in the name of the Reformed churches of France during the Civil War which broke out in France between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics.¹³²⁵ It was written to the Emperor and the German princes at the Diet of Frankfurt in order to secure their support for the Protestants in France. However, the continuation of the war rendered it impossible to despatch the Confession to the diet. When the hostilities abated shortly after, it seemed not only unnecessary but also unseasonable to mention this Confession again. But Calvin's view was different. He published the Confession in the same year, believing that the work was still useful, seasonable and valuable. In the preface to the reader, he wrote that 'it were a pity that any thing so valuable should remain as it were effaced, seeing that it may be serviceable in many ways.'¹³²⁶ It is significant that the Confession did include an article on the primacy of the pope. It deserves to be quoted in full:

Moreover, we hold that *the primacy which the Pope attributes to himself is an enormous usurpation. For were we to admit the expediency of having some head in the Church (this, however, is completely repugnant to the word of God), still it is extravagantly absurd that he who is to be head over bishops should not be a bishop himself.* And when we examine all that they say of *their hierarchy*, we find that it bears no resemblance to what our Lord Jesus and his apostles taught us, or rather that it *is a corruption fitted to overturn the government of the Church.* We touch not on all the dissoluteness and scandals which are only too notorious, but we say that all Christians, in order not to be rebels against God, ought to reject what they know to be contrary to the purity of his service. For when there is a question as to the *spiritual jurisdiction* which God reserves to himself, *all human supremacy must give way.* The laws of earthly princes, however grievous and harsh they should be, nay, even should they be felt to be unjust, are nevertheless valid, and it is not lawful to despise them for the goods and bodies of this world are not so precious as that the authority which God has given to all kings, princes, and rulers, should not take precedence of them. But it is a very different case to subject our souls to tyrannical or strange and bastard laws, which are to turn us aside from subjection to God. Meanwhile we confess, that it is not for private persons to correct such abuses, in order to remove them entirely; it is enough that all Christians abstain from them, keeping themselves pure and entire for the service of God¹³²⁷ (*italics mine*).

¹³²⁵ *Confession de foy pour présenter à l'empereur* (CO 9: 753-72).

¹³²⁶ CO 9: 753; T&T 2: 146.

¹³²⁷ CO 9: 762-3; T&T 2: 150.

Although it did not add to or change Calvin's position on the pope, the historical significance of this article is that this was Calvin's first statement on the primacy of the pope expressed in confessional form. Even the *French Confession of Faith* (1559), the first draft of which had been written by Calvin, does not have an article on the pope.¹³²⁸ Read in this light, the significance of the 1562 Confession could not be underestimated. One can say that this Confession marked Calvin's final formal judgment on the papacy. It epitomises his absolute rejection of the papacy and the whole of its hierarchy. He was determined that all Christians had to reject this government since God's spiritual jurisdiction in the church could not be compromised. Even when the tyrannical laws of earthly princes should be tolerated, the pope's law should not be. The absolute tone of this rejection could not be clearer.

6.4. Calvin's Deathbed attitude (1564)

It is known that Luther at his deathbed still prayed against the pope.¹³²⁹ On a literal level, we do not find the same in Calvin's words when he was on his deathbed. But a few words from Calvin's mouth may reveal his conviction regarding his past life and his vision for the Reformed church, which indirectly may disclose his final judgment on the papacy even on his deathbed.

On Tuesday, 25 April 1564, Calvin had drawn up a very short will. From the beginning he wrote,

In the first place, I give thanks to God that, on the one hand, he took pity on me, his poor creature, and brought me up *out of the deep (profundis) darkness of idolatry in which I was plunged* in order to draw me into the light of his gospel and make me a partaker of the doctrine of salvation, of which I was quite unworthy.¹³³⁰

This brief description of his conversion is reminiscent of his own words in his preface to the *Psalms Commentary* in which he described his '*subita conversio*':

For I was so obstinately enslaved in *the superstitions of the papacy* that it was difficult to pull me out of that *deep (profundo) abyss of mire*.¹³³¹

¹³²⁸ CO 9: 731-52. But articles 23-25 do deal with the true church, among which article 24 condemns 'les synagogues de la Papauté,' which by implication denies the Catholic Church as the true church. Article 26 specifies that 'all true pastors, wherever they may be, have the same authority and equal power under one head, one only sovereign and universal bishop, Jesus Christ; and that consequently no church shall claim any authority or dominion over any other.' CO 9: 749. Cf. Cochrane 1996: 137-40, 151-3.

¹³²⁹ Carolyn (1975: 88): 'In a luminous pamphlet Ernst Bizer reminded us that the papal menace troubled the very last hours of Luther's life. His last words to his friends on the evening before his death were "Pray to our Lord God and his Gospel that all may go well with it, for the Council of Trent and the accursed Pope are hot with wrath against it."'

¹³³⁰ CO 21: 162: '... non solum me e *profundis* idololatriae tenebris, in quas demersus eram, eripuit, ut me in evangelii sui lucem adduceret, et doctrinae salutis participem faceret, ...'

¹³³¹ CO 31: 21: '... quum *superstitionibus papatus* magis pertinaciter addictus essem, quam ut facile esset e tam *profundo* luto me extrahi, ...'

A careful comparison of the two statements shows that the phrase 'out of the deep darkness of idolatry' given in his will can actually refer to 'the deep abyss of mire' of the papacy as described in his *subita conversio*. Hence, the words in his will were not merely a description of his pre-conversion life but also a personal and emotional judgment on the papacy during Calvin's last moments. In other words, Calvin was grateful that God had delivered him out of the *profundae tenebrae papatus*. To the papacy he would not return. His judgment on the papacy on his deathbed, though implicit, is quite clear.

One more piece of information is called for. On 28 April 1564, all the ministers of Geneva were assembled at his house. There Calvin gave them his final admonition. A few words from this discourse deserve closer attention as well. Calvin said,

Persevere, my brothers, when I am dead, in this work, and your spirit will never faint; for the Lord will preserve this church and this republic against all the threats of their enemies. When I first came to this city, the Gospel was already preached here, but the greatest disorder prevailed on all sides, as if Christianity consisted wholly in the destruction of images. ... But as I continued to proceed in the work, I at length discovered, by the thing itself, that the Lord had blessed my labour. Persevere, therefore, in this calling: *hold fast the established order, and dedicate yourselves to the work, that the people may be preserved in the obedience to [true] doctrine*¹³³² (italics mine).

Again, this admonition to the ministers to hold fast the *institutus ordo* is of profound significance. Read against the background of his combat against the *ordo papatus* in the past, this admonition to keep the established order of Geneva shows that Calvin was convinced of the *reformatio* or *restitutio* of the church as exemplified in the church of Geneva.¹³³³ The church under his reform effort would not go back to the church under the papacy. Moreover, Calvin was convinced of the *vera doctrina* he and the other reformers had recovered from the papacy. It was only this doctrine that would keep the people in the faith.

6.5. Conclusion

The 'unaccommodated Calvin' with regard to the '*papatus impietas*' can clearly be illustrated in his reply to Cassander's *De officio*. It also signals in vivid terms that the ecumenical task is no easy effort. For Calvin, the reason for dividing the papacy and the Protestant reformers was deeply doctrinal in nature. *Sola scriptura* had to be upheld over against Cassander's *Scripturarum intelligentia*. The

¹³³² CO 21: 167: '... Perstate igitur et vos in hac vocatione, *institutum ordinem* retinete, date simul operam, ut populus *in obsequio doctrinae contineatur*.'

¹³³³ Cf. van't Spijker 1993: 120.

'*papa cum suo clero*' could not be the '*solus interpretes*' of Scripture. Consistently, Calvin rejected the pope for corrupting the '*capitales articuli*' of the Christian church. His reply shows clearly that for the reformer true ecumenical dialogue could only come about if all parties concerned face honestly the deep doctrinal differences that divided them.

At the same time, Calvin's intransigence with regard to the primacy of the pope was given a final, formal statement in the Confession of Faith written to the Emperor and the German princes. He rejected the primacy of the pope as an enormous usurpation and would never compromise the spiritual jurisdiction of God in the church. Even on his deathbed, he thanked God for delivering him out of the deep darkness of the papacy. Moreover, he was convinced of the *vera doctrina* he and the other reformers had recovered from the papacy.

CHAPTER SEVEN: GENERAL CONCLUSION

In this study, we have examined Calvin's critique of the papacy by tracing the development of his thought on this issue. Scholarly opinions of the last century on Calvin's attitude to the papacy appeared a little confused. Before Vatican II, Calvin's attitude to the papacy was consistently perceived to be nothing less than absolute rejection. Since Vatican II, this picture of Calvin's attitude is vastly revised, not only by Protestant scholars but also by Catholic scholars. Calvin's attitude to the papacy is seen to be capable of greater flexibility. More importantly, some even argued that Calvin's rejection is not really absolute but only conditional. It appears that one may find support for either view by a casual reading of some of Calvin's works. For this reason, Calvin's view remains to be clarified. This can only be done by not dwelling on a certain piece or phase of Calvin's works but by tracing the development of his thought on this issue. Moreover, what is needed particularly in this investigation is an in-depth analysis of his thought.

I believe that in the process of tracing and examining Calvin's development, we have clarified his thought and attitude toward the papacy. This conclusion is divided into three parts. The first is a summary of that historical development. The second will be a theological interpretation of Calvin's main thoughts on the papacy. The third draws out the ecumenical implications of Calvin's thought and attitude toward the papacy. Thus in their respective nature while the first part is historical, the second will be theological and the third ecumenical. The ecumenical part should follow the theological, and the theological should also be based on an understanding of the inner connections of Calvin's thought in its historical manifestations. This will provide a fuller picture of Calvin's thought on the papacy, linking Calvin's thinking in the past to its relevance to the present and even the future.

Historical Connections

Calvin's earliest written comments on the papacy reflected latent conflicts. This stage covers two phases. The first is the period before Calvin became involved in the ministry in Geneva. The second covers his earliest ministry in the city. The first phase is reflected in the two prefaces to Olivétan's French Bible (1535) and the 1536 *Institutio*. The second phase covers Calvin's two recorded speeches in his first public disputation in Lausanne (October 1536), the *Epistolae duae* (end of 1536), the *Articles concernant l'organisation de l'église et du culte à Genève* (January 1537), and the *Instruction et confession de foy* (1537).

We called this period a stage of latent conflicts because although there was no open conflict between Calvin and the papacy, the negative attitude or even enmity towards the papacy was there. The existence of these latent conflicts can be explained by the fact that, as a second-generation reformer who had just developed his zeal for the lately recovered gospel, Calvin naturally had inherited a similar enmity from the Reformation environment. Most notable was Luther's influence, and this influence continued to be felt by Calvin in his later works.

Latent and indirect as the conflict was, there were concrete and important details. Calvin did not just pick up some general attitudes from the wider Reformation environment. His view and attitude towards the pope was an informed one. In his Latin preface to Olivétan's French Bible, we already found Calvin directing his criticism against the 'Rabbis' and 'pastors.' These people in fact included the 'Roman Pontiff and his priestlings.' They became the subjects of Calvin's criticism because they opposed the translation of the Bible for the common people, which meant that they forbade people to know the truth of God. Already one can see the tension of the Word of God and the power of the papacy in Calvin's mind. Although the French preface did not touch on the Roman Pontiff, it reveals the core of Calvin's theology at this stage which constituted key doctrinal and ecclesiological principles for Calvin's fierce criticism against the papacy in his later career. As a doctrinal principle, the centrality of Christ and his gospel could not be violated. As an ecclesiological principle, it was the duty of the true vicars and successors of the apostles to teach the holy gospel by the pure Word of God. Both of these were used by Calvin to refute the papacy in his later criticism.

The 1536 *Institutio* contains only scanty references to the papacy. Still, when these appear, they hit at some key issues which were to be taken seriously again in Calvin's later criticism. Thus although the papacy did not become a separate subject for criticism in the 1536 *Institutio*, it did criticise the pope for the error of indulgences, a criticism clearly linking Calvin to Luther's early rejection of the papacy. When he came to discuss Christian freedom in the last chapter, he levelled his criticism, however brief, at the pope again. He opposed his impious tyranny of formulating new laws which troubled unhappy souls. Here Christ as the sole lawgiver and his rule in his church and the pope's dominion were opposed to each other. Admittedly, we do not find Calvin mentioning the papacy in his treatment of the fourth part of the Apostolic Creed (on the Church). But the fact that he defined the church in terms of God's election shows an implicit criticism of the papacy. This is confirmed in his letter to Francis I in which Calvin rejected the Roman Catholic definition of the church in terms of the pope and the hierarchy. For this reason,

Calvin refused to define the church in terms of its outward form but concentrated on the church's invisible nature. He saw the danger of defining the church in terms of the pope and the Roman hierarchy, for it would easily lead to serious errors, notable among which was that Rome could claim that the pope could not err. This is one key latent conflict that Calvin had harboured against the papacy.

Calvin's participation in the disputation of Lausanne belongs to the second phase of this period. During the disputation in Lausanne, Calvin poured out his wrath against the pope as the Antichrist. The reason for this naming was again due to the pope's framing of new laws and imposing them upon Christians, which for Calvin was tantamount to arrogating God's power to himself. The natural outpouring of this outcry on the part of Calvin is indicative of the hostile attitude latent in the consciousness of the reformer. Again this hostility was based on one key ecclesiological principle, for it was God alone who is lawgiver in the church. Then Calvin's second speech directed against the pope returned to a doctrinal concern of the reformer. He attributed 'the first definition' of 'this monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation' to the pope and ridiculed the way he came to his conclusion.¹³³⁴

Calvin's hostile feeling against the papacy was also revealed in his open letters to two friends. To Nicolas Duchemin, Calvin criticised the superstitions within the kingdom of the pope. The pope, 'that priest of deceptions' under Calvin's sharp pen, was the cause of grievous idolatry in the church. One cannot but feel that just as his attitude to Nicodemism was uncompromising, his rejection of the pope for corrupting the church was equally unforgiving. In his letter to Gérard Roussel, Calvin had the occasion to call the pope the *romanus Pluto*, the Lord of the underworld or the Lord of the dead, and the *romanus archipirata*, who had drained the financial resources of the people. This hostile attitude sustained towards the pope was set in sharp contrast to his otherwise relatively more forgiving attitude to bishops under the papacy. In his reply to Roussel, Calvin gave the impression that he still left open the possibility that his friend might remain in his new found position as a bishop in the Roman church as long as he performed the duty of a true bishop. By contrast, his evaluation of the reality of the pope's office did not leave the possibility for improvement. In Calvin's calculated criticism, the dark nature of the papacy seemed to have been determined.

The plan for the new organisation of the Genevan church also manifested this latent enmity. In the *Articles* and *Instruction* that he drafted for the church in Geneva, he laid down statements to protect the church against the errors and corruptions of

¹³³⁴ Calvin 1954: 45.

the papacy. Thus in the *Articles concernant l'organisation de l'église et du culte à Genève* the church in Geneva was to avoid the abuse of excommunication used under the papacy. A confession was needed to set the believers apart from those who belonged to the kingdom of the pope rather than the kingdom of Christ. Psalms should be sung by the people in an intelligible language rather than the unknown tongue that the pope imposed on the church. The iniquitous marriage laws of the pope should be rejected. In the *Instruction et confession de foy*, Calvin outlined the kind of power pastors should have, and delimited their ministry to the preaching of the Word of God and the administering of the sacraments. Again, his paramount concern was for pastors to teach pure doctrine. Although he did not mention the papacy, this prescription was later used by Calvin for rejecting the pope for his failure to be a true bishop.

The next stage of Calvin's criticism of the papacy was focussed in three works: Calvin's correspondence with his friend Louis du Tillet (January-October 1538), the 1539 *Institutio* (completed in October 1538), and his *Responsio ad Sadoletum* (August 1539). We call this a stage of provoked conflicts because events happening between 1538 and 1539 stimulated Calvin into a deeper reflection on the relationship between the church and the papacy. The result was that he stepped up his criticism.

In his correspondence with du Tillet Calvin's conviction regarding the ecclesial character of the churches under the papacy was given concrete expression. To return to the papal church, as du Tillet had done, was wrong. To remain in the church reformed by the efforts of the reformers was not only justified but was the only principled option. Calvin knew that there was no turning back for himself. He was convinced that in the heavenly tribunal in future, his cause would be vindicated. Behind this conviction was the firm determination that the papal church could not be accorded the name 'church' at all, because the power of Christ's name and the truth of his gospel were abolished among them.

One can imagine the impact of du Tillet's return to the church under the papacy upon Calvin. Calvin was drawn into deep, personal reflection on the relationship between the papacy and the church. This reflection bore initial fruition in his revision of his original 1536 *Institutio*. I agree with Richard Muller's analysis that Calvin's *Institutes* underwent a change from a catethetical manual in 1536 to a set of *loci communes* and *disputationes* in 1539. As the purpose and shape of his *Institutes* took on a new form, we find that Calvin wrote into the text of his 1539 *Institutio* a clear doctrine of the two marks of the true church, which previously was given in the letter to Francis I, coupled with a distinction between necessary and secondary

doctrines. On this basis, he denied the churches under the papacy to be true churches. At most what they still possessed were *vestigia* of the church. This reaction to du Tillet's challenge was written into his 1539 *Institutio* so that students of the Word of God might make out the truth of the true church. As to the papacy, Calvin followed up immediately that it had destroyed the churches under its rule. In his anger Calvin used the derogatory term 'popery' ('*papismus*') to refer to the 'papacy' ('*papatus*'), asserting again that the churches under the 'Roman idol's tyranny' were no longer true churches. And for the first time in his *Institutes* he equated the pope with the Antichrist. The face of the church under the papacy was in fact the face of Babylon. Although the comment was brief, the identification of the pope as Antichrist was no longer restricted to a personal feeling or a temporary outburst, as during the disputation in Lausanne.

If anything, Calvin's *Responsio ad Sadoletum* is a clear statement that his conflicts with the papacy had entered an openly provoked stage. Calvin saw in Sadolet's letter not only a challenge to his call to be a reformer, he also felt the encroaching power of the papacy to claim back the people who once broke out of its net. In Calvin's perception, Sadolet's appeal was to call the Genevan people back to the yoke of the pope, not to the Catholic Church *per se*. In reply Calvin maintained that the Genevan people and the reformers were not departing from the church of Christ but from the papacy. They were not schismatics but members of the true church. While in Calvin's perception Sadolet was in fact identifying the church with the papacy, Calvin in his tactics alienated the church from it. He made clear that the church could not be identified with the papacy. In fact, again it was the papacy that had destroyed the church. Although Calvin strongly desired unity, this unity must begin with God and end in God. Here Calvin laid down the principle for true unity, in which God himself had to be given the highest honour in the church with no human beings boasting to be its head, and that in all discussion of unity the Word of God had to occupy the highest authority. Rhetorically, Calvin wrote that obedience could be due to the pope from the Christian people if the pope maintained his fidelity to Christ and did not deviate from the purity of the gospel. But this way of presenting his argument became an early indication of one of Calvin's deep-rooted reasons for rejecting the papacy: the pope had corrupted the pure doctrine of the gospel. Disregarding the call of the papacy, Calvin was determined to continue in his reform work for the church of Christ, convinced that before the heavenly tribunal his case would be vindicated.

Calvin's critique of the papacy entered an intensified stage, with first, his participation in the colloquies of 1540-41. This period proved to be crucial for the

development of Calvin's criticism of the papacy. In Hagenau, he saw how the papacy attempted to influence the direction of the colloquy. In the Colloquy of Worms, he became the official delegate of the city of Strasbourg, which certainly heightened his sense of responsibility for the cause of the Protestants. It was in Worms that the Protestants decided that they needed solid arguments against the primacy of the pope. Among others, Calvin contributed his arguments for this cause on 18 November 1540. The brief record of Calvin's biblical, historical and patristic arguments demonstrated that he had prepared himself for this task, and this could not have been done on one day. Obviously, ever since his reply to Sadoletto's letter, Calvin had delved deeper into reading and thinking on the arguments against the pope's primacy. The papal intervention in the calling and arrangement of the colloquies only proved that the pope was opposing not only to the Protestants but also to the reunion of the church. The root cause lay in the pope's tenacious clinging to power. In Worms, Calvin and the other Protestants felt that they were engaging in a spiritual warfare. It was in this context and atmosphere that he wrote the *Epinicion Christo cantatum* (January 1541). This poem clearly revealed that in Calvin's mind the Protestants were engaged in an irreconcilable conflict with the papacy, a warfare between the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of the pope. In this conflict, the pope was totally rejected by Calvin. The condemnation of the poem by the Index in 1544 and Calvin's eventual decision to publish it in the same year served only to illustrate the severity of this antagonism.

When a copy of Paul III's 'Fatherly Advice' (April 1540) fell into Calvin's hand, he knew that he had to respond. By the time Calvin's *Consilium Pauli III et Eusebii Pamphili explicatio* was published in March 1541, the colloquy at Worms was suspended. The publication of Calvin's response at that time seemed late since the pope's original purpose was to stop the calling of the colloquy at Speyer on 6 June 1540. But such a late publication only demonstrated Calvin's resolve to oppose the advice of the pope all the more clearly, and with good reason. As the pope saw it, the calling of the Colloquy of Speyer was a threat to the position of the Apostolic see. His worry was that when talks like these were conducted with the Protestants, eventually the authority of the Roman see would be sacrificed. Calvin's reply shows that he took this authority seriously. He had to reject it because the pope had no true doctrine of the gospel, oppressed the consciences of Christian people by tyrannical laws and corrupted the government of the church. What the pope did to the church proved that he was the Antichrist. In addition, it was the issue of who should be the head of the church that was of supreme importance. Calvin believed that when this

issue was settled, and Christ was given back his supremacy, all religious divisions and controversies could be dealt with easily.

The issue of the authority of the pope refused to go away. Apart from the article on the sacrament of Eucharist which brought the Colloquy of Regensburg to a standstill, the articles on the authority of the church and primacy of the pope were other main causes that contributed to the failure of the whole colloquy. As a matter of fact, Article XIX (*De Ecclesiae hierarchico ordine, et in constituenda politia auctoritate*) of the *Regensburg Book* was in fact dealing with the primacy of the pope. It was framed in a rather conciliatory manner. For while it upheld the primacy of Peter and apostolic succession, it described the pope's primacy in terms of its function to serve the unity of the church. But for Calvin as for many Protestants, although he had no objection to the final formulation of the doctrine of justification, the articles on the church and primacy of the pope could in no way be accepted. In his mind, the failure of the colloquies was due to the pope. He had no hope for the reformation of the church or settling of religious divisions from the hands of the pope's party.

The importance of the issue of the papal primacy must have stuck deep in the mind of Calvin. He knew that to advance the cause of the Reformation, the issue of the primacy had to be dealt with. This time, he approached it in his latest edition of his Latin *Institutes* under the doctrine of the church. In fact, Calvin's response to the religious colloquies of 1540-41 was one of the chief reasons for him to publish the 1543 *Institutio*. His ministerial experience in Basel and Strasbourg and the influences on him under Bucer could not explain the bulk of expansion of the 1543 *Institutio*. When we subject chapter 8 of his 1543 *Institutio* to close scrutiny, there is no difficulty in seeing where Calvin's emphasis lies. Apart from developing a doctrine of the church, he determined to subject the primacy of the pope to comprehensive criticism. The ultimate purpose was to reject this primacy. This purpose is of the highest significance for our thesis. Clearly, on the doctrine of the church *loci communes* and *disputationes* must go side by side. Calvin believed that in order to build a solid doctrine of the church, the primacy of the Roman see had to be rejected. And he prepared substantial arguments to reject it. He began the discussion by rejecting the claim that primacy was central to the unity of the church, a claim reminiscent of the formulation of Article XIX of the *Regensburg Book* which gives the clearest clue to the relationship between the 1543 *Institutio* and the colloquies of 1540-41. Then followed Calvin's full-scale biblical, historical, and patristic argument against the papacy. It begins with a treatment of the foundation of the primacy based on the Old and New Testaments. With the Petrine texts in particular, Calvin

demonstrated that according to Christ's dispensations there was no such thing as a primacy of Peter or the bishop of Rome by divine right. But Calvin did not stop at biblical arguments. He knew that in order to undermine the whole foundation of the Roman primacy, he had to go into the historical development of the pope's primacy from the ancient church up to his own time. What he found was only a primacy of honour confirmed to the bishop of Rome by the Ecumenical Councils. All other developments were due to the ambitions of the bishop of Rome as the evils of the time provided Rome with opportunities to lay claim to spiritual and worldly power. The pope trespassed into worldly territory and claimed to have power over worldly kingdoms. He usurped Christ's power to institute ecclesiastical laws binding on the conscience of souls. He used councils to support his tyranny. His kingdom not only invaded Christ's kingdom but also was a subterfuge of that kingdom. This growth of the power of the papacy only confirmed his conviction that the pope was the Antichrist, which finally stamped Calvin's view of the papacy. This was a massive treatment, which formed the basis of all of Calvin's criticisms of the papacy in subsequent years. We have not treated the 1559 *Institutio* separately because the material of 1543 persists in the last edition, which carried little significant addition on this subject. This only served to show how important was the 1543 *Institutio*. The dominion of the pope and the kingdom of Christ simply could not co-exist. With these criticisms in the 1543 *Institutio*, Calvin not only laid a strong anti-papal foundation for the people of his time to reject the papacy, but also bequeathed to later generations a solid theological legacy in the conflict with Rome.¹³³⁵

The period after 1543 up to 1561 (or 1562)¹³³⁶ witnessed the climax of Calvin's rejection of the papacy. In this period Calvin basically applied his critique of the primacy of the Roman see uncompromisingly in the aftermath of the religious colloquies. The works Calvin wrote during this period in connection with the papacy were all very important, if only judged by the personalities or situations he addressed. In the *Supplex exhortatio ad Caesarem* (1543), Calvin addressed the Emperor. In the *Articuli facultatis Parisiensis cum antidoto* (1544), Calvin was criticising the foremost theological authority of his time. In the *Admonitio paterna ad Caesarem cum scholiis* (1545), Calvin confronted the pope himself, this time under his own name. In his *Acta Synodi Tridentinae cum antidoto* (1547), he attacked the

¹³³⁵ For example, The influence of Calvin's anti-Rome polemics can clearly be seen in the uncompromising position against papal primacy in the Second Helvet Confession (1566). One excellent example for Calvin's influence on later theologians can be found in Turretin (1997: 86-188). The fact that Turretin used a great number of pages against Rome in his *Institutes* found its precedent in Calvin.

¹³³⁶ This is according to the various dating of the *Mémoire sur le concile*.

General Council of the Roman Catholic Church as well as the pope himself. In his *Interim adutero-Germanum*, he opposed the irenical religious settlement of the Emperor. Before Emperor, pope, Faculty of Theology of Paris, Council, Calvin stamped his 'No Compromise!' to the primacy of the Roman see.

Yet apart from reiterations of themes, there were also elaborations and clarifications and even surprising new elements in Calvin's critique in this climactic period. In *Supplex exhortatio*, the pope not only was not the bond of unity of the church, any one, the pope included, who did not regard Christ as Head or preserve the doctrine of the heavenly Master became a heretic or schismatic. While Calvin would in principle accept episcopacy with Christ as the Head of the church, he excluded the pope because he claimed to be the Vicar of Christ and held the *principatus* as a tyrant *absque lege et modo*. In the same work we also find further clarification of Calvin's *praecipua doctrina* which he would use not only to measure the doctrine of the papacy but also to constitute the reason for accepting or rejecting the papacy itself.

In his critique of the *Articles* of the Faculty of Theology of Paris, Calvin was no more lenient to the stronghold of conciliarist opinions of the pope. In the final analysis, the Faculty could not but uphold the pope's primacy. On the divine right of papal primacy, papalist and conciliarist still stood together. The struggle between conciliarist and papalist belonged to the past and was irrelevant to the reformers in their critique of the papacy. Thus while the Faculty still made the pope to be the head of the church and took it for granted that the pope should preside in councils, Calvin had completely done away with these recognitions and concessions. Whereas the Faculty made the hierarchical structure and in particular the pope to be the 'face' of the church, Calvin resisted it by maintaining Christ to be the true head and face of his own body. Whereas the Faculty made it an article of faith that a General Council, lawfully convened and representing the whole church, could not err in its determination of faith and practice, Calvin saw what 'lawfully convened' meant, which is having the pope presided in it. For Calvin, a church or a General Council could be kept from error only by sustaining a dynamic relationship to Christ, which meant that they must have Christ as the only Head to preside among them.

Calvin's *Admonitio paterna ad Caesarem* demonstrates the depth of his intolerance of the pope's supremacy in the church. First, Paul III's insistence on the supremacy of the papal office as the centre of unity of the church showed how persistent an issue the relation between papal primacy and church unity was. The pope's intervention to stop the Emperor's effort to call a 'general, Christian and free Council' provoked Calvin's fierce opposition. The pope's unwillingness to allow

reform in the church constituted one great reason for Calvin's resolute rejection of the papacy. Again, he refuted the pope's claim that only the Roman Pontiff had the right to call a general council. He would rather revert to the ancient practice in which the Emperor took the initiative to call a general council to heal the evils of the church. Calvin's mistrust of the pope's council was again due to his belief that the pope would control it and suppress true doctrine for the sake of preserving his own supremacy.

The climax of this period is certainly marked by Calvin's *Antidote* to the Council of Trent. In this sense, the *Antidote* is the apex of his rejection of papal primacy. It demonstrates to the highest degree how much mistrust Calvin had for the pope. In Calvin's eyes, Trent confirmed all his suspicions of the papacy when it defined doctrines and promulgated decrees diametrically opposed to Calvin's *praecipua doctrina*, which he had elaborated in the *Supplex exhortatio*. The significance of Trent for Calvin was that it proved unmistakably the pope's suppression of true Christian doctrine for the sake of keeping his own primacy intact. The pope's exercise of this primacy was instrumental to the definition of a whole body of doctrines in Trent that distanced Rome from the Scripture. Calvin's climactic condemnation of the papacy could be represented by his reply to Bishop Cornelius' eulogy for Paul III,

As to your proclaiming him worthy of heaven, I don't know if you are aware of the universal belief that he was unworthy of the earth!¹³³⁷

Calvin's critique of the Augsburg *Interim* shows how disagreeable to him was a forced settlement of religious divisions. A relatively irenical article on the primacy of the pope lying mid-point between asserting the divine right of this primacy and the unity-promoting and spiritually edifying functions of the pope's office was rejected by Calvin. Calvin was hard to please, perhaps to the displeasure of many ecumenically minded people of the last and present century. On the other hand, it was really an eye-opener when Calvin wrote that the church should be left at liberty to debate if the pope's office was a useful remedy for removing dissension. This unheard of 'concession' on the part of Calvin should be understood in terms of the political pressure from the Emperor as well as his great desire for the unity of the Christian church. It should also be qualified by the fact that Calvin had drastically limited the authority of the pope. There was no admission of papal primacy. There could be no plenary power granted to the papal office. There could be no pope above all other bishops.

¹³³⁷ CO 7: 398; T&T 3: 55.

Calvin's commitment to the unity of the church can explain his intention to travel to Trent in April 1551. But with the prevention of his friends, with the indefinite suspension of the Council, and then the passage of nine years, his hope of seeing some Protestant contribution to the Council had completely dissipated. That explains why in a letter to the church of Paris dated February 1561 he told the ministers not to concern themselves with the Council. He was convinced that the Council would persist in its errors, and more importantly, the pope would not seek to consult the necessities of the church, but would only fasten his grip on his own authority and maintain his own tyranny. If there was a council that the Protestants could join and make contribution, it had to be a truly 'free, universal council.' Such a hope was outlined in his *Mémoire sur le concile*. But the fact that he allowed '*le premier lieu*' to be given to the pope does not mean that Calvin was ready to concede primacy to the pope. The pope's authority and role was substantially circumscribed. More important is Calvin's reason for such a concession. It shows Calvin's overarching concern for the *restoration* of the pure doctrine, worship and government of a *united* church. For this cause he reserved a key place for the pope in the proceedings of a free, universal council. Admittedly, the realisation of this hope remained unrealistically distant in the future.

Cassander's *De officio* gave Calvin the chance to reveal the limits of his ecumenical involvement with Rome. For Calvin, Cassander's naive replacement of the authority of Scripture with tradition by the name of *Scripturarum intelligentia* as the judge of religious discussions was totally unacceptable. Neither could Calvin accept the '*papa cum suo clero*' to be the '*solus interpretes*' of Scripture. Moreover, Calvin's reply showed that the issue dividing Rome and the Reformed churches was deeply doctrinal in nature. He held tenaciously to his *praecipua doctrina* and accused Rome of being devoid of the foundation of the church, which was Christ himself and the knowledge of his redemptive grace. For this reason, Calvin 'desired the tyranny of the papacy ... to be completely destroyed.'¹³³⁸ Throughout his reform career, Calvin saw the corruptions and evils of the church as lying with papacy.

If anything, the Confession of Faith written by Calvin in the name of the Reformed churches of France to be presented at the Diet of Frankfurt in 1561 typified his formal as well as his final judgment on the papacy. Although few have paid attention to this apparently *ad hoc* statement, the historical significance of the article on the primacy of the pope is that it finally stamped Calvin's unyielding

¹³³⁸ CO 9: 556.

rejection of the primacy of the pope in a confessional statement. It is the significance of this emphasis that the present thesis recovers.

On his deathbed, Calvin's reflection of his conversion out of the *profundae tenebrae papatus* also sealed his final, personal and emotional judgment of the papacy. His exhortation that the ministers of Geneva should keep the *institutus ordo* of Geneva and dedicate themselves to teaching the *vera doctrina* demonstrates the strength of his commitment to the Reformed church. The gulf between Rome and Geneva had certainly been fixed. Constructive dialogue between them could only await a very distant future. Perhaps, finally, the time has come in our day. But in the shadow of John Calvin, we are reminded of his conviction that while the door of dialogue is never closed, there are real issues to be tackled, with no easy compromises allowed for all parties involved.

Theological Interpretations

In the final analysis, all of Calvin's criticisms of Roman Catholicism, whether of doctrine, ceremonies, government, or even morals, converge on one major issue: the primacy of the pope. Viewed from this angle, Calvin's critique of the primacy of the pope is his major anti-Roman Catholic polemic. This understanding alone shows the importance of our study in the present thesis. Our theological conclusion after having studied Calvin's critique of the papacy centres also on this one major issue. Although primacy also has to do with the function of the papal office, principally it concerns the source of authority and the extent of authority of the papal office itself, and thus is found to be the key issue for Calvin in all of his critiques of the papacy. To be sure the problem of primacy is one key issue for other reformers in their reaction to Roman Catholicism as well. But Calvin's critique of papal primacy certainly stands out among all other magisterial reformers apart from Luther himself¹³³⁹ for its breath and depth, which can be seen from the 1543 *Institutio* onwards.

Our theological conclusion on Calvin's critique of the papacy is best organised by the answers to these four questions: First, what kind of papacy was Calvin rejecting? Second, what is the nature of Calvin's rejection of the primacy of the pope? Third, what are the deepest reasons for Calvin's rejection of this primacy? Fourth, what kinds of papacy can Calvin accept throughout his critique? These four

¹³³⁹ Died on 18 February 1546, Luther himself did not live long enough to write a critique of the Council of Trent. But his *Against the Roman Papacy, an Institution of the Devil* (1545) is his response to *Admonitio paterna Pauli III. Romani pontificis ad invictissimum Caesarem Carolum V* (1544). This work is his last major work against the papacy and is certainly comparable in importance to Calvin's reply to Paul III's *Admonitio paterna* (1545).

questions are related to one another. The answers to these four questions can help explain Calvin's dialectical thinking and clarify the conflicting interpretations of Calvin's attitude to the papacy.

The Kind of Papacy Calvin Rejected

General speaking, the kind of papacy rejected by Calvin was the one developed (as Calvin understood it) after the death of Gregory I up to his own time, the latter being dogmatically defined at the Council of Florence.¹³⁴⁰ In other words, Calvin rejected the papacy which asserted a juridical primacy of power over all churches, East and West. This is what Aristeides Papadakis called the 'entire post-Gregorian papal structure' rejected by 'Martin Luther and his disciples.'¹³⁴¹ This is demonstrated in his refutation of papal primacy in the 1543 *Institutio* when he traced the origin and development of the papacy from the ancient church to his own time. Although he was not unaware of the ambitions of Leo I to assert *principatus* and Stephen's arrogance to claim *primatus*, their jurisdictions were still limited by the law and nature of the church communion of their times. The 200 years after the death of Gregory I saw rapid development of the growth of papal authority, with the assistance of political power. Calvin was convinced that the unholy alliance was by no means a natural development. He even saw here a murky conspiracy of the papacy growing into the lofty claims of Gregory VII and Innocent III to political jurisdiction by divine right on the one hand and by political right (the Donation of Constantine) on the other.

More intolerable was the papacy's claim to spiritual authority. Calvin's rejection of the papacy centers on a theological, not moral or political, issue. The claim of the papacy to worldly jurisdictional power is only an extension of his critique of its primacy. The core of Calvin's critique of papal primacy lies in this: that the pope claimed himself to be the supreme head of the church and the universal bishop of the whole world on the pretence of the authority given by Christ. All other ambitions or abuses stemmed from this basic claim. As head of the church, the pope

¹³⁴⁰ See the Decree for the Greeks (1439) on the primacy of the Roman Pontiff: 'Likewise, we define that the holy apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff have the primacy over the whole world, and that the same Roman Pontiff is the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the true vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, the father and teacher of all Christians; and that to him, in the person of St. Peter, was given by our Lord Jesus Christ the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the whole Church as is also contained in the acts of the ecumenical Councils and in the sacred canons.' Dupuis 1996: 285. Cf. Gill (1979: 265): 'In formulating that decree the Latins in Florence had their eye as much on the rump-council of Basel as on the Greeks.... The position of the Pope there defined is thus defined for Latins and Greeks, no matter who it was that was being chiefly considered.'

¹³⁴¹ Papadakis-Meyendorff 1994: 404-5.

asserted universal jurisdiction over all churches without controversy. This universal jurisdiction was flatly denied by Calvin. What worried Calvin above all was that with this supreme jurisdiction the papacy left no *judicium* on earth to check or restrain its lust (*libido*) if the pope abused such boundless power. Calvin also rejected the claim that the '*papa cum suo clero*' were the '*solii interpretes*' of Holy Scripture. This centralisation of the authority to interpret Scripture naturally led to the *axioma* that the pope could not err. But Calvin could never accept such a claim with his deep conviction of the principle of *sola scriptura*.

The Nature of Calvin's Rejection of Papal Primacy

Calvin rejects the papacy uncompromisingly. At the core of this rejection is his absolute rejection of papal primacy. One can say that he rejected the papacy uncompromisingly because he rejected its primacy absolutely, for all abuses and corruptions of the papacy stemmed from this assertion of primacy. The idea of 'absolute rejection' should be qualified here. It involves both a conceptual and existential elements. First, Calvin rejected the so-called biblical, theological, juridical and historical justifications of papal primacy. Secondly, he could not tolerate its existence in the church, past and present. A glimpse of the absoluteness of this rejection can be seen from Calvin's early criticism of the Pope as the Antichrist in the speech given in the disputation at Lausanne and his reply to Sadoletto's letter. But an open theological formulation is first seen in Calvin's opinion on the primacy of the pope given at the deliberations of theologians in the Colloquy of Worms in 1540. A clear and sustained position is expressed in his 1543 *Institutio*, which is found to be motivated by Calvin's reaction to the colloquies of 1540-41 and especially the formulation of the irenical article on papal primacy (Article XIX) in the *Regensburg Book* in the Colloquy of Regensburg. Here, Calvin rejected the primacy of the pope first on biblical grounds. It is unmistakably clear that when Calvin found that the Petrine texts did not support the primacy of Peter and Petrine succession, the biblical foundation of papal primacy was demolished. This by itself was absolute rejection. Equally, or no less importantly, he tore down the so-called historical foundation of papal primacy in the ancient church. Calvin was hard to please. Neither could he accept papal primacy on the pretence that the papal office could help preserve the unity of the church. If Calvin could not accept papal primacy on that ground, one can see how absolute his rejection of the Pope's primacy was.

That explains why whenever he found papal primacy asserted he rose to reject it. This is clear from his *Consilium Pauli III et Eusebii Pamphili explicatio* (1541), from the 1543 *Institutio*, his rebuttal of the *Articles* of the Faculty of

Theology of Paris, the *Supplex exhortatio ad Carolum V* (Dec 1543), *Admonitio paterna ad Caesarem cum scholiis* (1545), the *Acta Synodi Tridentinae cum antidoto* (1547), his reply to the Augsburg *Interim* (1548), the *Responsio ad versipellem mediatorem* (1561), and finally, the Confession of Faith drafted in the name of the Reformed churches of France (1562).

This study has pointed out that Calvin's use of *concessio* rhetoric is not a kind of conditional argument. Others may suggest that the peak of *concessio* used by Calvin indicate that, if the bishop of Rome would perform the duty of a bishop, then Calvin would accept his primacy. This is a misreading of Calvin's use of *concessio*. The context of Calvin's critique in the 1543 *Institutio*, that Calvin rejected the pope's primacy from beginning to the end, does not support such interpretation. *Concessio* was used by Calvin to heighten his ridicule of the papacy and drive home the force of his argument. When Calvin used his final *concessio*, this only reveals his deepest reason for his absolute rejection of papal primacy. When finally Calvin announced that the pope was the Antichrist, his absolute rejection of papal primacy can be seen to be complete.

The Deepest Reasons for Calvin's Absolute Rejection of Papal Primacy

The deepest reason for Calvin's absolute rejection of papal primacy has to do with the pope's relation to the true doctrine of the faith. That the pope had deviated from the purity of the gospel, that he did not have true doctrines of the gospel, and that he even opposed himself to the reviving doctrines of the gospel, these determined Calvin's absolute rejection of the papacy and papal primacy.

Calvin had shown his paramount concern for true doctrine early in his two prefaces to Olivétan's French Bible (1535). In the Latin preface he opposed the papacy for forbidding the people to know the truth of God's light. In the French preface he was eager to set forth the centrality of Christ and his work as the core of the Christian faith and appealed to the bishops and pastors do faithfully the job of teaching this Christ-centred gospel. This already gives a glimpse of what in Calvin mind the main duty of the bishops'/ pastor's office was. The 1536 *Institutio* was a catechetical manual, designed to teach the Christian people the doctrine of the Christian faith. Though this first edition only recorded scanty criticisms of the pope, we find Calvin inveighing the pope for formulating new doctrines (and new laws) by which he turned the people utterly away from the original purity of God's Word (and placed unhappy consciences under tyrannical bondage). In the Laussane disputation, we found Calvin taking to task Pope Gregory VII's erroneous 'first definition' of the

'monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation.'¹³⁴² Article 30 of the *Instruction et confession de foy* (1537) gives a clear picture of the duty of the pastoral office, which, apart from administering the sacraments, was to teach pure doctrine. In the 1539 *Institutio* he criticised the papacy for perverting 'the sum of necessary doctrine'¹³⁴³ and played the role as the destroyer of the church. In his reply to Sadoletto's letter, we find Calvin defining the office of the pope. He saw the pope's office as having no essential difference from that of other pastors, which was 'to deliver the oracles which they received at the mouth of the Lord.'¹³⁴⁴ Similarly, the pope was to be measured by his fidelity to Christ and the purity of his gospel. In his *Consilium Pauli III et Eusebii Pamphili explicatio* (1541), Calvin condemned the pope for failing to teach the doctrine handed down from the holy Apostles, for being devoid of true doctrine and for being unwilling to restore true doctrine.¹³⁴⁵

All these prepared us to understand the real interest of Calvin's final *concessio* in the 1543 *Institutio* when he wrote,

Suppose all these things were true (*which we have already convinced them are false*): that by Christ's word Peter was appointed head of the whole church; that he deposited in the Roman see the honor conferred upon him; that it was sanctioned by the authority of the ancient church and confirmed by long use; that the supreme power was always given to the Roman pontiff unanimously by all men; that he was the judge of all cases and of all men; and that he was subject to no man's judgment. Let them have even more if they will. I reply with but one word: none of these things has any value unless there be a church and bishop at Rome. This they must concede to me: what is not a church cannot be the mother of churches; he who is not a bishop cannot be the prince of bishops. Do they, then, wish to have the apostolic see at Rome? Let them show me a true and lawful apostolate. Do they wish to have the supreme pontiff? Let them show me a bishop¹³⁴⁶ (*italics mine*).

Clearly, this last *concessio* is not a kind of conditional argument for accepting the primacy of the bishop of Rome. It was used by Calvin to expose the pope for what he did not have. In the same page he reiterated the duty of the bishop's office: 'The first task of the bishop's office is to *teach* the people *from God's Word*....'¹³⁴⁷ Thus, the great significance of this final *concessio* is that in ridiculing the pope in this climactic form it allows us to see Calvin's deepest reason for rejecting the pope's primacy. The pope did not have true doctrine and did not teach sound doctrine according to God's Word. This is Calvin's deepest reason for rejecting his primacy.

¹³⁴² Calvin 1954: 45.

¹³⁴³ *Institutio* (1539): 147.

¹³⁴⁴ CO 5: 404; Calvin-Sadoletto 1966: 75.

¹³⁴⁵ CO 5: 472.

¹³⁴⁶ *Institutio* (1543): 206.

¹³⁴⁷ *Institutio* (1543): 206; *Institutes* (1559/Bat): 4.7. 23.

A variant form of this *concessio* was given in the *Supplex exhortatio* in which Calvin would hypothetically 'accept' the Roman Pontiff to be a bishop even if he entirely neglected every part of his duty, but still would not accept his primacy because the Roman Pontiff 'is now opposing himself to the reviving doctrines of the gospel, just as if his head were at stake.'¹³⁴⁸ Here, the pope's opposition to the reviving doctrines of the reformers determined Calvin's rejection of his primacy. His fierce rejection of the pope reached its climax in his critique of the Council of Trent because he saw that the pope not only did not have sound doctrine, but also decreed corrupt doctrines through this Council. His criticism of the pope's unwillingness to call a General Council by the Emperor in his other writings has, in the final analysis, to do with the pope's refusal to allow a discussion of doctrine and to restore doctrines.

Thus, Calvin's absolute rejection of papal primacy cannot be separated from his concern for true doctrine in the church. Only when this relationship is taken seriously can one understand the deepest motive of Calvin's critique of Rome in all his anti-Roman Catholic polemics. It is true for Calvin that there is no such a thing as divine right for the primacy of the pope. It is true that there is no biblical foundation for his primacy. It is also true that there is no historical foundation in the ancient church for this primacy. But all these facts alone were not sufficient for Calvin to pick up his pen in order to reject the pope's primacy so absolutely. It was the pope's relationship and attitude to the true doctrine of Christ—that the pope was devoid of true doctrine, did not teach sound doctrine and was opposed to the revival of true doctrine—that drove Calvin to formulate all these biblical, historical and patristic arguments and rejected the pope's primacy so absolutely.

The next chief reason for Calvin's absolute rejection of papal primacy is that he will not allow Christ's headship in the church to be taken away by the pope. He absolutely denies the co-existence of an invisible head, that is Christ, and a visible head, that is the pope. In Calvin's argument, the need for a visible head only implies an absent Christ. But Christ is present in the church through the gifts of ministry he gave to his church and, in particular, through the ministry of the Word itself. More seriously, for Calvin, a visible head will eventually swallow up the invisible Christ. The history of the abuses of power in the growth and development of the papacy after Gregory I demonstrate this clearly. This rejection is so strong that Calvin could not allow even a ministerial head in the church. Moreover, he did not concede the need for a center of unity based upon the pope. He again and again rejected this

¹³⁴⁸ CO 6: 524; T&T 1: 219.

formulation, because only Christ is the center of unity for the church. At this point the headship of Christ and the true doctrine of Christ's gospel join together. For when Calvin said that Christ was the center of unity for the church, he also wrote that the unity of the church was a unity in true doctrine.

With a whole history of rejecting the pope's relation to true doctrine and usurpation of Christ's honour, we can understand Calvin's ultimate condemnation of the pope in his reply to Cassander's *De officio* (1561) more pointedly:

It is nothing surprising if we desire the tyranny of the papacy, which is harmful (hostile) as much to the salvation of man as to the glory of God, to be completely destroyed; because while she remains, neither religion, nor the worship of God, nor the kingdom of Christ, can be restored to its original state.¹³⁴⁹

It is no coincidence that these two deepest reasons for rejecting the papacy find confirmations in Calvin's letters and sermons. As indicated from the three quotations under the cover page of this dissertation, whether it was preaching to the lay people or writing to Kings, Calvin made it crystal clear to his audience why he had to reject the papacy so absolutely and what was the duty of his ministry. People should 'rigorously despise ... the pope and all his clergy' because 'they exalt themselves above the Lord' and 'tread his gospel under foot, and even seek to bury it.'¹³⁵⁰ The reformers' duty is to strive to re-establish 'the reign of the Son of God, true religion and the pure doctrine of salvation.'¹³⁵¹ In the church, 'the Son of God should alone stand as head, all others being brought into the rank of members.'¹³⁵²

The Kind of Papacy Acceptable to Calvin

While Calvin absolutely rejected the primacy of the pope as described above, he did accept a certain kind of papacy. This sounds paradoxical only if one does not understand the kind of papacy Calvin rejected, as explained above. Now if Calvin denounced the entire post-Gregorian papacy and rejected its concept of papal primacy absolutely, there is a historical form of the papacy that has escaped his rejection. To put it safely, this historical form was what was recognised generally in the early centuries of the church. First, Calvin acknowledged the high honour that Rome enjoyed in the ancient church. Second, he accepted that in the Council of Nicea the Roman bishop was assigned the first place (*primus locus*) among the patriarchs, not as the head of all but as *unus ex praecipuis*. He also accepted that in the Council of Chalcedon, the representatives of the church of Rome occupied the

¹³⁴⁹ CO 9: 556.

¹³⁵⁰ JCSG Sermon 10 (Gal. 2: 11-14): 151-2.

¹³⁵¹ LJC 4: 162, Calvin to the King of Navarre, 16 January 1561.

¹³⁵² LJC 3: 103, Calvin to the King of Poland, 5 December 1554.

first seat—but this was a concession on the part of the Emperor. He did not object that Leo's representatives met the need of a *moderator* at that time—such special privilege, however, was based on an extraordinary situation (*extra ordinem*), not customary law.

The height of Calvin's acceptance of this ancient form of the papacy is found in his appreciation of Gregory the Great. As our study shows, Calvin even used Gregory the Great to reject the ambitions of the post-Gregorian papacy. In Gregory the Great, the papacy, though having a certain wideness of jurisdiction at that time, was occupied by a humble pope. Calvin appreciated that Gregory the Great did not claim to be universal bishop, would maintain equality with other bishops, and only used his power to rebuke errors. But even on the last point, Gregory did not declare himself sole judge, but allowed a synod to settle controversies. Calvin also welcomed the fact that Gregory the Great abstained from civil government and never intruded himself into the care of other churches unless constrained by necessity. In other words, for Calvin Gregory's primacy still fell within the limits set by the ancient councils and modelled the example of a true pope.

All this amounts to say that Calvin could accept a form of papacy that acknowledges the equal status of other churches in both the East and West and would allow conciliar decisions to define its status among the churches.¹³⁵³ Supreme leadership, exercised under the headship of Christ, in submission to the Word of God and in the service of the true doctrines of the gospel, can be maintained by the pope, who, being acknowledged first in honour but not head of the church, 'use[s] his power for building, not for destruction,' and who will thus 'be a help to the other bishops in discharging their duties, not a hindrance,'¹³⁵⁴ but this is no primacy of power or universal jurisdiction by divine right. This is the proper meaning of a 'reformed' papacy that Calvin could endorse.¹³⁵⁵

Perhaps for Calvin, the challenge for Rome today is whether she would revert to a status like what she had held before in the early centuries of her existence and transform her leadership to serve the whole church in the modern world.

Ecumenical Implications

The last point to conclude this study is to draw out the ecumenical implications of Calvin's critique of the papacy. Strictly speaking, this study does not need this part. One may content oneself with the foregoing conclusions. The

¹³⁵³ CO 7: 618. *Supplex exhortatio ad Carolum V.*

¹³⁵⁴ CO 5: 472.

¹³⁵⁵ CO 5: 472. As mentioned, this is given in his *Consilium Pauli III et Eusebii Pamphili explicatio* (1541).

ecumenical implications of Calvin's critique of the papacy will not affect them. However, one cannot but admit that the present study does have ecumenical implications. Given that many of today's studies on the issue of Calvin's view of Rome were motivated by ecumenical incentives, a conclusion that draws out the ecumenical implications is appropriate. It may shed light on our ecumenical situations or directions, though whether one accepts it or not is quite another matter.

Calvin's rejection of papal primacy is absolute, but it does not mean that he 'abhors' ecumenism with Roman Catholicism, as, for example, Cadier suggests. For Calvin the door of ecumenical dialogue with Rome is not closed. Calvin still believed that the churches under the papacy still had the *vestigia ecclesiae*.¹³⁵⁶ This is the ecclesial basis of dialogue. If Rome and the churches under it did not have these *vestigia ecclesiae*, Calvin would not be bothered about them at all. But the fact that he criticised Rome so many times on so many important occasions was based on this common ecclesial character.

What motivates Calvin to allow and continue ecumenical dialogue with Rome is his desire for a united church with a restoration of true doctrine in the church. This united church would include the Roman Catholic Church as well. To be sure, if conditions do not exist, he will hold that any dialogue will be just a waste of time. That explains why Calvin advised the church of Paris in February 1561 not to bother about the resumption of the Council of Trent any more since he was pessimistic about the possibility of any change in Trent with respect to its doctrinal positions. But if conditions exist which will permit a discussion of doctrine between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, Calvin would support such a dialogue. That explains why he wrote the *Mémoire sur le concile*, in which the issue of primacy was set aside temporarily, and would even concede '*le premier lieu*' to the pope, when the hope of a free, universal council seemed possible. But it must be remembered that Calvin's adherence to his *praecipua doctrina* is firm and tenacious. There must

¹³⁵⁶ One must not think that this judgment of Calvin is too harsh. For the situation is similar on the Catholic side. In its Decree on Ecumenism, Vatican II spoke of the Christian bodies that lacked valid Holy Orders as 'ecclesial communities' rather than 'churches' (see Abbott 1966: 364). But then during the summer of 2000, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) issued two documents that give even harsher judgments on these ecclesial communities. The first of these documents, 'Note on the Expression "Sister Churches,"' was approved by Pope John Paul II on 9 June 2000. The second document is the Declaration *Dominus Iesus*, 'On the Unicity and Salvific Universality of Jesus Christ and the Church,' which was also approved by Pope John Paul II on 16 June 2000. The problem was well summarised by (Sullivan 2001: 232.): 'The CDF has spoken in a more negative fashion than Pope Paul VI had when it said that communities lacking episcopal orders may not be called "sister churches," and in a more negative fashion than Vatican II when in *Dominus Iesus* it said that such communities "are not churches in the proper sense."' Although the yardsticks for Calvin and Vatican II are different when they ascribe respective ecclesial status to each other, the ecclesial basis for dialogues is still there.

not be any compromise in any of the *necessariae doctrinae*. That explains why he wrote the *Responsio ad versipellem mediatorem* and gave a stark criticism of Cassander's *De officio*. The co-existence of these latter two documents appears to be a contradiction. In the one, dialogue appears to be open. In the other, dialogue looks closed. This apparent contradiction can only be explained by Calvin's desire to have true doctrine restored in the whole church and the existence of conditions under which dialogue might take place.¹³⁵⁷ At any rate, the fact that Calvin did have this desire means that for Calvin dialogue was open. Calvin's vision for church unity and his desire for the restoration of the purity of doctrine in the church should remind many Protestants that they should not shun dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church. If there is a time when the church needs to speak with one voice concerning doctrine, it is our post-modern world today. When the reformers left the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century, they thought that they had recovered the apostolic tradition and hence restored the true doctrine of the gospel. In a real sense, this is still true. But after more than four hundred years of experiments, many people have found that a church divided cannot really speak with one voice to the world what the gospel is. When there are so many apostolic traditions, one does not know which is the true one.

It is encouraging to see that many are seizing opportunities and even create conditions for dialogue. The latter half of the twentieth century certainly reaped positive results of doctrinal convergence between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches. Broad agreements have been achieved not only between Roman Catholics and Anglicans but also between Roman Catholics and Lutherans on Eucharist and ministry as well as on the doctrine of justification (though it remains to be studied to what degree Calvin would have agreed to these agreements).¹³⁵⁸ Such doctrinal discussions should continue and one can believe that Calvin would welcome such efforts.¹³⁵⁹

¹³⁵⁷ This is one valid way to explain 'la dialectique dans l'ecclésiologie de Calvin.' Cf. Courvoisier 1965: 86-101.

¹³⁵⁸ As regards the doctrine of justification, one should remember that Calvin welcomed the agreement reached in the Colloquy of Regensburg (Article V). Unfortunately, it was eventually rejected by Rome—again by the exercise of papal power. The significance of this agreement should be recovered today. In this respect, Lane (2002)'s study, which includes an analysis of the Regensburg formulation as well as Calvin's doctrine of justification, should be taken seriously.

¹³⁵⁹ Note that as early as 1986 Cullmann (1986: 38) has pointed out that 'the greatest ecumenical progress in the area of theology has probably been made in the area of the critical study of the Bible. ... In biblical studies the commonality is so broad that the differences which divide exegetical schools from each other no longer correspond to the differences between the confessional groups, but cut across confessional lines. There are significant series of biblical commentaries being produced in common.'

At this point, one faces a dilemma in ecumenical dialogue. For just as Calvin was intransigent in his conviction regarding the *praecipua doctrina* he had asserted and the principle of *sola scriptura*, so is the stand of Rome in its conviction of Roman Catholic dogma and the tradition of the church.¹³⁶⁰ Thus while it is true that Pope John Paul II in his *Ut unum sint* reiterated the position of the Decree on Ecumenism of Vatican II to the effect that 'Catholic theologians engaged in ecumenical dialogue ... should act with love for truth, with charity, and with humility,' this can only be done 'while standing fast by the teaching of the Church.'¹³⁶¹ As regards 'genuine disagreements in matters of faith,' the pope has laid down that 'the examination of such disagreements has two essential points of reference: Sacred Scripture and the great Tradition of the Church.' And he adds that 'Catholics have the help of the Church's living Magisterium.'¹³⁶² One can imagine how difficult the ecumenical task would be since both sides are firm in their convictions. Perhaps Calvin's advice to today's Protestant ecumenists would be: Tread carefully, and hold fast to the authority of Scripture! On the other hand, it is encouraging to see that Catholics today have recognised that Calvin is a powerful force to call upon Catholics to an unconditional submission to the Word and to a practice of rigorous christocentrism.¹³⁶³

As regards church unity, Calvin not only provides us with a definition of unity, his thought points us also to the example of the ancient instrument of unity. This instrument is his recognition of the significance of ancient episcopacy. Here, his interpretation of Cyprian is of special value for us today. For Calvin, when Christ is the one Episcopate, bishops under Christ can be great instruments for the unity of the church.¹³⁶⁴ The ancient Patriarchs of the first few centuries were leading the church more or less according to such a model.¹³⁶⁵ What this means is not that all the churches should return to a system of episcopacy. It only means that as long as Christ remains the one Episcopate, the true Head and source of unity of the church, all the churches can join together in a community of separate churches, with each of them

¹³⁶⁰ Speaking of *sola scriptura*, Lane (1994: 325) points out, 'Here is where the difference with Rome lay and still lies. This was the issue that divided the confessions at the time of the Reformation, which explains why they were unable to reach agreement on other issues. It remains the supremely dividing issue today.'

¹³⁶¹ *UUS*: 42, ¶36.

¹³⁶² *UUS*: 45, ¶39.

¹³⁶³ Bosc 1966b: 16-19; see also McDonnell 1967c: 542-556.

¹³⁶⁴ *Institutio* (1543): 196: 'Vides ut Christi unius Episcopatum universalem faciat, qui totam sub se Ecclesiam capiat: illius partes in solidum ab omnibus teneri dicat qui sub hoc capite Episcopatu funguntur.' Cf. *CO* 6: 522-3. Cf. *T&T* 1: 216-7

¹³⁶⁵ Cf. Marot 1965: 9-16.

sending representatives to the superstructure of this community. This is one way to actualise unity through diversity.¹³⁶⁶

Under such a circumstance, the pope can still play a significant role as an essential instrument of unity.¹³⁶⁷ One recalls that in his critique of the Augsburg *Interim*, Calvin had made a surprising reply to the *Interim*'s call for a pre-eminent office in order to remove religious divisions. Calvin wrote that such a call for a pre-eminent office should be decided by the consultation of the church. To be sure, there are important qualifications for this surprising concession. First, it must not be supposed that this pre-eminent office is of divine right—Calvin believed he had completely demolished the divine right claim in the 1543 *Institutio*. Thus, his reply does not compromise his own consistent rejection of papal primacy by divine right.¹³⁶⁸ Second, such an office must not become a licence for tyranny. That means that this power is limited and qualified but useful for the unity of the church. Third, such an office must not become a universal bishopric in the sense that its office stands above all bishops in power. Thus, there is a balance between a pre-eminent office and the principle of collegiality. Fourth, if the Roman Pontiff is to fill this office, then Rome must have a pope who is a true bishop. As shown in this study, to be a true bishop is not limited to fulfilling a pastoral responsibility. The doctrinal responsibility of a true bishop, that of holding and teaching true doctrine is the chief concern of Calvin in his conception of a true bishop.

In fact, these thoughts offered by Calvin should not be taken as too surprising. In general, they are still in line with his view on the papacy. First, as pointed out, his absolute rejection of papal primacy by divine right has not been compromised. Second, Calvin does recognise the high honour of the bishop of Rome

¹³⁶⁶ I borrow this idea from Cullmann (1986), ch. 2. Cullmann's achievement in his fresh understanding of the New Testament and the Early Church as well as his ecumenical effort is well recognised. See, for example, Torrance 1984: 59.

¹³⁶⁷ For an excellent discussion of various proposals for church unity that involve the pope and Council, see Cullmann 1986. Cullmann's own proposal deserves close attention too. Chapter I & II present Cullmann's proposal, while chapter III examines other chief proposals and compares them to his own proposal. Cullmann's thesis is to establish 'the unity of the churches in and through their diversity' (p. 13). He does not envisage a concept of unity in diversity 'which in the distant future would have to yield to a merger that would fuse the churches into one uniform body' (p. 13-4). He did not cherish a concept of unity that does not 'extend this unity to include denominational structures' (p. 14). What Cullmann proposes 'is a real community of completely independent churches that remain Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox, that preserve their spiritual gifts, not for the purpose of excluding each other, but for the purpose of forming a community of all those churches that call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ' (p. 33). He says, 'the understanding of the Orthodox churches comes close to my own' (p. 14).

¹³⁶⁸ The Orthodox Church cannot accept a divine right claim either. Papadakis-Meyendorff (1994: 164)'s study gives the result that 'the origin of the Roman primacy (and of all other primacies for that matter) was determined not by *divine* decree but by Church legislation, that is, by purely *historical* factors or considerations.'

enjoyed in the ancient church. He does accept the status of the pope given by ancient Ecumenical Councils. He does see the pope as one of the Patriarchs. What Calvin means by the consultation of the church is nothing other than allowing a General Council to decide if the church needs a central papal office in order to keep the church in unity.¹³⁶⁹ This again is still a primacy of honour applied to a new situation in which the pope's power is clearly delimited and his function appropriately defined.¹³⁷⁰

To be sure, there are many related and difficult issues to be tackled in such a grand scheme of achieving church unity in our time or in the future. First, this unity effort must take into account the Orthodox Churches. On this issue, Calvin had never any doubt that the Eastern Church is part of the church of Christ. Protestants should lament that our vision for unity is so narrow that we almost forget that the Orthodox Churches are part of Christ's body. Second, doctrinal differences will not be resolved in the near future. Calvin was as insistent as others that agreement in doctrine must precede organisational reunion. In view of this, doctrinal discussions today and work for church unity must go in a parallel direction. Third, Rome is as insistent as before that the pope's office is based on divine right and apostolic succession.¹³⁷¹ This one is even more difficult but we cannot expect all difficult issues to be resolved at one time. We must allow that there are stages on the road to unity. The key question to ask is whether we have a vision for unity, a unity that embraces the whole church of Christ, breaking down walls and barriers, sharing and loving each other under the headship of Christ, and witnessing the truth of his gospel to the world around us. A genuine desire for unity is a key to the solutions to all these difficult problems. No

¹³⁶⁹ The call for an ecumenical council represented by all Christians churches has already been raised. Douglass (1997: 42) has reported that Konrad Raiser (1991) has proposed that 'families of churches—Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Pentecostal—should begin with the new millennium a process of preparation for an ecumenical council.'

¹³⁷⁰ Compared to Calvin's interpretation of Cyprian, Bévenot (1954: 34-5)'s conclusion regarding Cyprian's attitude to Rome is worth noting: 'If we take his (Cyprian's) theory of the unity of the Church at its face value, the position which Rome would hold in it can perhaps be best illustrated by the modern parallel of the secretariate of some international organization, having its "centre" in Geneva. Current business passes through that centre, administrative directives are issued by it. The national bodies belonging to that organization look to it and generally accept its ruling as a matter of course. If the general secretary happens to be a man of outstanding personality, who has throughout shown a keen appreciation of the needs and interests of the whole body, he will be quoted and his "authority" taken as establishing precedents. Yet it is understood that neither the secretariate nor its head is in a position to bind the members by the directives issued. They are all at least revocable at the next General Assembly. Something like that would appear to have been Cyprian's attitude to the church of Rome, especially when he was speculating on the unity of the Church—or when he found himself in violent disagreement with its bishop. Yet, in the normal handling of Church affairs, he showed both by word and deed that, in practice, he recognized much more authority in the Bishop of Rome than his theoretical attitude allowed for.'

¹³⁷¹ Flannery 1992: 357,375; Cullmann 1986: 54.

one can be so complacent to say that he or she wants the church to remain as it is now, that is, in disunity with conflicting messages about the truth of the gospel. Even Calvin did not want to see this.

On the other hand, there are positive signs in the Roman Catholic Church today that may contribute to eventual church unity, which was unimaginable in the counter-Reformation. Despite its reaffirmation of papal infallibility and primacy in chapter three of *Lumen Gentium*, Vatican II has introduced the notion of collegiality of bishops which 'opens the way to increased participation by bishops in the governing of the church and to a corresponding decrease in the power of the Roman Curia.'¹³⁷² The decree on Ecumenism also initiates the Roman Catholic Church's commitment to ecumenical dialogue. Both of these were unheard of before and the positive attitude of the latter decree was unthinkable in the sixteenth century. Moreover, John Paul II is a pope who is committed to intra-Christian ecumenism.¹³⁷³ In his first encyclical, *Redemptor hominis*, § 6, the pope raised the question with urgent conviction: 'To all who ... would wish to dissuade the [Roman Catholic] Church from seeking the universal unity of Christians the question must be put: Have we the right not to do it?' Then, in his encyclical 1995 *Ut unum sint*, the pope presents again his strong affirmation of the significance of ecumenical engagement.¹³⁷⁴ It is to this latter letter we have to pay more attention at the end of this conclusion.

The title of this encyclical is wisely chosen. It reminds us of Christ's prayer for complete unity in the church. It also appeals to everyone to recognise the urgent need of unity in today's context. Believers in Christ cannot remain divided.

If they wish truly and effectively to oppose the world's tendency to reduce to powerlessness the Mystery of Redemption, they must profess together the same truth about the Cross. An anti-Christian outlook seeks to minimise the Cross, to empty it of its meaning, and to deny that in it man has the source of his new life. It claims that the Cross is unable to provide either vision or hope. Man, it says, is nothing but an earthly being, who must live as if God did not exist.¹³⁷⁵

What follows is a spirit of openness to dialogue in frankness and fairness permeating the whole encyclical. Then, towards the end the pope describes the mission of his papal office.

¹³⁷² Quanbeck 1971: 139.

¹³⁷³ To be sure, one should not forget the contribution and impact of Pope John XXIII as well, who created 'a new situation' (Brown 1967: 59) for the Catholic Church to participate in the ecumenical dialogue. See Brown 1967: 47-67.

¹³⁷⁴ Cf. Williams 1982: 141-76.

¹³⁷⁵ *UUS*: 4, ¶1.

The mission of the Bishop of Rome within the College of all the Pastors consists precisely in "keeping watch" (*episkopein*), like a sentinel, so that, through the efforts of the Pastors, the true voice of Christ the Shepherd may be heard in all the particular Churches.¹³⁷⁶

Then the pope describes how the Roman bishop's primacy is to be exercised. These include:¹³⁷⁷

- Vigilance over the handing down of the word
- Vigilance over the celebration of the liturgy and the sacraments
- Vigilance over the church's mission, discipline and the Christian life
- Vigilance over the requirements of the common good of the church should anyone be tempted to overlook it in the pursuit of personal interests
- The primatial duty to admonish, to caution, and to declare at times that this or that opinion ... is irreconcilable with the unity of faith
- The primatial duty to speak in the name of all the pastors in communion with him when circumstances require it
- The primatial authority—under very specific (and limited) conditions to declare *ex cathedra* that a certain doctrine belongs to the deposit of faith

Then the pope makes a surprising statement that would probably surprise many people:

*All this however must always be done in communion. When the Catholic Church affirms that the office of the Bishop of Rome corresponds to the will of Christ, she does not separate this office from the mission entrusted to the whole body of Bishops, who are also 'vicars and ambassadors of Christ.' The Bishop of Rome is a member of the 'College,' and the Bishops are his brothers in the ministry.*¹³⁷⁸

These are the efforts of the pope 'to find a way of exercising the primacy which, while in no way renouncing what is essential to its mission, is nonetheless open to a new situation.'¹³⁷⁹ Moreover, the pope sees his primacy as an office of promoting and preserving unity.

Whatever relates to the unity of all Christian communities clearly forms part of the concerns of the primacy.¹³⁸⁰

He also sees this office as performing the function of a 'moderator.'

If disagreements in belief and discipline arose among them, the Roman See acted by common consent as moderator.¹³⁸¹

¹³⁷⁶ UUS: 104, ¶94.

¹³⁷⁷ UUS: 105, ¶94.

¹³⁷⁸ UUS: 105, ¶95. Cf the comments in Quinn 1999: 29.

¹³⁷⁹ UUS: 106, ¶95.

¹³⁸⁰ UUS: 106, ¶95.

¹³⁸¹ UUS: 106, ¶95.

Before the Ecumenical Patriarch His Holiness Dimitrios I, he had pleaded in 1987,

I insistently pray ... that we may seek—together, of course—the forms in which this ministry may accomplish a service of love recognised by all concerned.¹³⁸²

He even seeks to 'persuade Church leaders and their theologians to engage' with him

in a patient and fraternal dialogue on this subject, a dialogue in which, leaving useless controversies behind, we could listen to one another, keeping before us only the will of Christ for his Church and allowing ourselves to be deeply moved by his plea 'that they may all be one ... so that the world may believe that you have sent me' (*Jn* 17: 21).¹³⁸³

Perhaps the most important statement contained in *Ut unum sint* is the following confession:¹³⁸⁴

As I acknowledged on the important occasion of a visit to the World Council of Church in Geneva on 12 June 1984, the Catholic Church's conviction that in the ministry of the Bishop of Rome she has preserved, in fidelity to the Apostolic Tradition and the faith of the Fathers, the visible sign and guarantor of unity, constitutes a difficulty for most other Christians, whose memory is marked by certain painful recollections. To the extent that we are responsible for these, I join my Predecessor Paul VI in asking forgiveness.¹³⁸⁵

Vatican II and the papacy of Pope John Paul II certainly open the way to new possibilities of close convergence between the Roman Catholic Church and other churches on church unity. The pope's attitude is right and many of the points he makes regarding the mission of the papal office are commendable. Calvin had never seen such goodwill from a pope in his lifetime. But the pope should also take note that Calvin would still have great reservation regarding his claim to the divine right of his office, and he would certainly reject that the pope alone should have the primatial authority to declare *ex cathedra* that a certain doctrine belongs to the deposit of faith.¹³⁸⁶ In fact, Calvin is not alone in these two positions. One cannot see

¹³⁸² *UUS*: 107, ¶95.

¹³⁸³ *UUS*: 107, ¶96.

¹³⁸⁴ This is also noted by Accattoli 1998: 230-1.

¹³⁸⁵ *UUS*: 99, ¶88.

¹³⁸⁶ Cf. Vatican II, *Dogmatic Constitution of the Church* III, ¶18: 'In order that the episcopate itself, however, might be one and undivided he put Peter at the head of the other apostles, and in him he set up a lasting and visible source and foundation of the unity both of faith and of communion. This teaching concerning the institution, the permanence, the nature and import of the sacred primacy of the Roman Pontiff and his infallible teaching office, the sacred synod proposes anew to be firmly believed by all the faithful, and proceeding undeviatingly with this same undertaking, it proposes to proclaim publicly and enunciate clearly the doctrine concerning bishops, successors of the apostles, who together with Peter's successor, the Vicar of Christ and the visible head of the whole Church, direct the house of the living God.'

that the Orthodox Churches would concede on these two crucial points either.¹³⁸⁷ If the pope is consistent and persistent as well as realistic in pursuing unity as he has laid down in *Ut unum sint*, his position on these two points should undergo adjustments in the future.¹³⁸⁸ Rome should, for example, seriously consider *re-adopting* a primacy position similar to the one recognised by the ancient Ecumenical Councils.¹³⁸⁹ Or Rome should rethink its ecclesiology to allow its primacy to be decided and shaped by conciliar decisions, a proposal suggested by Meyendorff¹³⁹⁰ but by no means incompatible with Calvin's idea in his refutation of the Augsburg Interim.¹³⁹¹ The pursuit for church unity will take stages. It will be a long process. But if ecumenical dialogue remains open, if continuing efforts continue to be made to achieve more and broader agreements on doctrinal issues in accordance with the truth of the gospel, and if the papacy will in the long run adjust its position regarding the understanding of its primacy¹³⁹² (and infallibility),¹³⁹³ taking seriously the

¹³⁸⁷ Nissiotis 1966: 334-36; Harkianakis 1971: 115-126; Evdokimov 1971: 122-126; Meyendorff (1983a: 98-99) Papadakis in Papadakis-Meyendorff (1994: 166) asserts firmly that 'the papal version of primacy was something of an aberration and as such ecclesiologically indefensible.' For the present view, *The Sacrament of Order in the Sacramental Structure of the Church* (26 June 1988), which gives the report on Eastern Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue, points out that 'the primacy of the bishop of Rome' is a question 'which constitutes a serious divergence among us and which will be discussed in the future' (*GIA II*: 679).

¹³⁸⁸ In giving the report on Reformed-Roman Catholic Dialogue, *Towards a Common Understanding of the Church* (Second Phase, 1984-1990) reads, 'Catholics insist that ... [c]harged to maintain and deepen the communion of all the churches among themselves, the bishops, with the bishop of Rome who presides over the universal communion, form a "college". This "college" is seen as the continuation of the "college" of the apostles, among whom Peter was the first. The bishop of Rome, understood as the successor of Peter, is the prime member of this college and has the authority necessary for the fulfilment of his service on behalf of the unity of the whole church in apostolic faith and life' (*GIA II*: 812, ¶142). That is why the report also states, 'At the same time, however, our dialogue has shown that certain disagreements in understanding the relationship between the gospel and the church have not yet been overcome. It would therefore be unrealistic to suppose that the time has now come for declaring full communion between our churches' (*GIA II*: 813, ¶147). On the divergences on the question of doctrinal authority in the church, see *GIA II*: 811, ¶139.

¹³⁸⁹ It is of interest to note that the report on Eastern Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue in *GIA II* (678-9, ¶52) restates the canonical decisions of ancient councils which express 'the hierarchy of *taxis*' in the ancient church. It also reminds us of the 'even if in the course of history there appeared apart from the pentarchy other arch-bishops, metropolitans, primates and patriarchs.' As expressed clearly in Meyendorff (1996: 89-90), the so-called 'pentarchy' refers to 'the idea that the "ecumenical" church is led by the five patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.'

¹³⁹⁰ This is suggested by Meyendorff (1996: 27): 'Whereas the Orthodox clearly recognize conciliar decisions as the only basis of Constantinople's primacy, defining the exercise of its authority, can they ever be recognized also as decisive in shaping the primacy of Rome?'

¹³⁹¹ *CO* 7: 615; *T&T* 3: 270.

¹³⁹² Perhaps Accattoli (1998: 229-30)'s comment on Pope Paul II's silence regarding von Balthasar's (and Congar's) constructive criticism of the papacy and the institutional church is indicative of some gradual changes: 'In order to avoid any "unnecessary scandal," it would be well if the Pope would "turn the Vatican into a museum and move to the gates of Rome." That was the suggestion made by the Swiss theologian, Hans Urs von Balthasar, whom Pope John Pual II had named a cardinal. The same von Balthasar also maintained that priests, bishops and popes should give up their titles, which are "antiquated and meaningless in a Christian sense." For example, he maintained the titles "father,

opposite voices of others like Calvin and the Orthodox Churches,¹³⁹⁴ then agreement on a Petrine office located in the pope may not be too difficult to achieve.¹³⁹⁵ At present, one can see that in many ways the pope's description of his primacy has come so, so close to what Calvin has expected of the papacy.¹³⁹⁶ In Pope John Paul II Calvin may have found another Gregory I.¹³⁹⁷ One just hopes that the legacy of this pope may continue.¹³⁹⁸ Then true unity may not be too distant in the future.¹³⁹⁹

abbot (*abba*), pope (*papa* in Italian) are contrary to the teaching in Matthew 23: 9: 'Do not call anyone on earth your father.'" Moreover, the word "infallible" applied to the Church and to the pope was always unacceptable to von Balthasar "because men are always fallible." *Pope Wojtyla has not said or done anything about any of these things. Nevertheless, it is likely that von Balthasar, and later on Yves Congar, were named cardinals precisely because they had both raised such questions.* Like von Balthasar, Congar had also discussed the use of papal titles, and both of them had taught that the Church is at once holy and a sinner (von Balthasar even published an essay titled *Casta Meretrix* [Chaste Prostitute]) and they had both insisted on the need for a continual reform of the Church (*Vraie et Fausse Reforme dans l'Eglise* [True and False Reform in the Church] by Congar, based on the ancient axiom, *Ecclesia semper reformanda est*, the Church is always in need of reform). I personally believe that Pope John Paul wanted to reward them for having the courage to point out that the radical teaching of the Gospel was compatible with the needs of the institutional church' (italics in English mine).

¹³⁹³ Since Vatican I, primacy and infallibility are inseparable. Cf. Ford 1970: 436-46. Ford (1979: 274): 'In effect, Vatican II extended the teaching of Vatican I by acknowledging the episcopal college as an agent of infallibility.'

¹³⁹⁴ Cf. Nissiotis (1966: 336): 'The Eastern Church will demand from Rome, openly and frankly for the sake of a healthy ecumenism, a revision of the doctrine of Vatican I and not an attempt to complement it by the concept of the so-called "collegiality" of the bishops, which does not escape the one difficult problem, namely to give further support to the "Head of the Collegium" Peter.'

¹³⁹⁵ It is a good sign that as early as 1973 Laurentin (1973: 95-113) has attempted to clarify the role of the papal office and its 'infallibility.' But already in 1969 Berkhof has directed the challenge to the pope himself. Berkhof (1969: 64-5)'s words are instructive: 'He must die as Pope in order to rise again as Peter. In other words, he must lose his *auctoritas* and *potestas* in order to win them. ... One who has constantly to refer to his authority, nervously or threateningly, does not have genuine authority, but only he who forgets himself and his authority in order to serve the brethren. ... In concrete terms this means that the Pope really ceases to worry about his authority and only cares for one thing: to strengthen, to encourage, and to console and to exhort the People of God in the broadest sense on their pilgrimage. ... Nor will he be afraid to revoke statements made by himself or his predecessors. Such a fear is typical of political "bosses", and their claim to infallibility is rightly seen as a proof of their fallibility. Only a man who is free in the deepest sense can afford to revoke a decision.'

¹³⁹⁶ Cf. Weigel (1999: 849) which summarises the eight achievements of John Paul II and concludes that 'the pontificate of John Paul II has been the most consequential since the sixteenth-century Reformation.'

¹³⁹⁷ Gregory I's works were seen prominently displayed around the desk of Pope John XXIII, the pope who initiated the Second Vatican Council. See Küng 1967: 598-600. Gregory certainly continues to have a strong influence on many reform-minded popes. John Paul II certainly has been touched by Gregory too. In my humble opinion, John Paul II will hold a comparable place beside Gregory in history.

¹³⁹⁸ Cf. Hebblethwaite (2000)'s *The Next Pope: A Behind-the-Scenes Look at How the Successor to John Paul II Will be Elected and Where He Will Lead the Church*.

¹³⁹⁹ To be sure, the form this unity will take will be quite another issue. Today, the strategy seems to point to a formula of 'unity in diversity.' Cf. Douglass (1997: 41); Cullmann (1986), ch. 2.

Bibliography

I. Works of Calvin

Major Collections

Ioannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia. 59 Vols. Ed. Guilielmus Baum, Eduardus Cunitz and Eduardus Reuss. Braunschweig and Berlin: Schwetschke, 1863-1900. [CO 1-59 = CR 29-87]

Barth, P. et al., ed. *Johannis Calvini Opera Selecta*. Munich: Chr. Kaiser: 1926-68.

Recueil des opuscles, c'est à dire, Petits traictez de M. Iean Calvin. Les uns revues et corrigez sur le latin, les autres translatez nouvellement de latin en françois. Genève: Baptiste Pinereul, 1566.

Major Latin and French Works Used in Polemical Contexts

- [1535] *Ioannes Calvinus caesaribus, regibus, principibus, gentibusque omnibus Christi imperio subditis salutem* (CO 9: 787-90).
- [1535] *Épître a tous amateurs de Iésus Christ, et de son S. Evangile, salut* (CO 9: 791-822).
- [1536] *Christianae religionis institutio, totam fere pietatis summam, et quicquid est in doctrina salutis cognitu necessarium, complectens: omnibus pietatis studiosis lectu dignissimum opus, ac recens editum*. Basel: Platter & Lasius, 1536. (CO 1: 1-252; OS 1: 11-283)
- [1536] *Deux discours de Calvin au colloque de Lausanne* (CO 9: 877-86).
- [1537] *Epistolae duae de rebus hoc saeculo cognitu necesariis* (CO 5: 233-312; OS 1: 287-362). See the following two below:
- [1537] *De fugiendis impiorum illicitis sacris, et puritate Christianae religionis observanda* (CO 5: 239-278; OS 1: 289-329).
- [1537] *De Christiani hominis officio in sacerdotiis papalis ecclesiae vel administrandis vel abiiciendis* (CO 5: 279-312; OS 1: 329-62).
- [1537] *Articles concernant l'organisation de l'église et du culte à Genève* (CO 10a: 5-14; OS 1: 369-77)
- [1537] *Instruction et confession de foy dont on use en l'Eglise de Geneve*. (CO 22: 25-74; OS 1: 378-417)
- [1539] *Christianae religionis institutio, totam fere pietatis summam, et quicquid est in doctrina salutis cognitu necessarium, complectens: omnibus pietatis studiosis lectu dignissimum opus, ac recens editum* (Basel: Platter & Lasius, 1536).
- [1539] *Jacobi Sadoleti Romani Cardinalis Epistola ad senatum populumque Genevensem, qua in obedientiam Romani pontificis eos reducere conatur. Ioannis Calvini Responsio* (CO 5: 365-416; OS 1: 437-89).
- [1540] Wolfgang Musculus' record of the Protestant theologians' discussion on primacy of the Pope on 18 November 1540 (Neuser 1974: 159-167) with Calvin's opinion (Neuser 1974: 163, 165; CO 21: 271).

- [1541] *Epinicion Christo cantatum ab Ioanne Calvino. Calendis Ianuarii anno 1541* (CO 5: 417-28; OS 1: 495-98) [Published in 1544].
- [1541] *Consilium admodum paternum Pauli III, pontificis Romani, datum imperatori in Belgis per cardinalem Farnesium pontificis nepotem pro Lutheranis. Anno 1540. Et Eusebii Pamphili eiusdem consilii pia et salutaris explicatio* (CO 5: 461-508).
- [1541] *Les Actes de la iournée imperiale, tenue en la cité de Regespourg, aultrement dicte Ratispone, l'an mil cinq cens quarante et un, sur les différens qui sont aujourd'hui en la religion* (CO 5: 509-684).
- [1543] *Institutio christianæ religionis nunc vere demum suo titulo respondens*. Strasbourg: Wendelin Rihel.
- [1543] *Supplex exhortatio ad invictissimum Caesarem Carolum quintum et illustrissimos principes, aliosque ordines, Spirae nunc imperii conventum agentes. Ut restituendae ecclesiae curam serio velint suscipere. Eorum omnium nomine edita qui Christum regnare cupiunt* (CO 6: 453-534).
- [1543] *Petit Traicté monstrant que c'est que doit faire un homme fidèle congnoissant la verité de l'evangile: quand il est entre les papistes* (CO 6: 537-88)
- [1544] *Articuli a facultate sacrae theologiae Parisiensis determinati super materiis fidei nostrae hodie controversis. Cum antidoto* (CO 7: 1-44).
- [1544] *Excuse aux Nicodemites* (in Higman 1970: 131-54). [1545] *Admonitio paterna Pauli III. Romani pontificis ad invictissimum Caesarem Carolum V. Cum scholiis* (CO 7: 249-88).
- [1548] *Acta Synodi Tridentinae Cum Antidoto* (CO 7: 365-506).
- [1548] *Interim adultero-germanum, cui adiecta est Vera Christianae pacificationis et ecclesiae reformandae ratio* (CO 7: 545-674).
- [1560/2] *Mémoire sur le concile* (CO 18: 285-7).
- [1561] *Responsio ad versipellem quendam mediatorem, qui pacificandi specie rectum evangelii cursum in Gallia abrumpere molitus est* (CO 9: 525-560)
- [1562] *Confession de foy pour présenter à l'empereur* (CO 9: 753-72)

Other Editions and Translations

Institutes

Institutes of the Christian Religion (1536 edition), *Embracing Almost the Whole Sum of Piety, & Whatever is Necessary to Know of the Doctrine of Salvation: A Work Most Worthy to be Read by All persons Zealous for Piety, and Recently Published. Preface to the Most Christian King of France, Wherein This Book is Offered to Him as a Confession of Faith*. John Calvin of Noyon. Author. At Basel. M.D. XXXVI. Trans. and Annotated by Ford Lewis Battles. Revised Edition. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co./ The H. H. Meeter Center for Calvin Studies, 1986.

Institutes of the Christian Religion of John Calvin: 1539, Text and Concordance. 4 Vols. Ed. Richard F. Wevers. Grand Rapids: The H. H. Meeter Center for Calvin Studies, 1988.

Institutes of the Christian Religion [1559]. 2 Vols. Trans. John Allen. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 3rd rev. ed., 1841; 7th ed. 1936.

Institutes of the Christian Religion [1559]. 2 Vols. Trans. Henry Beveridge. Edinburgh, 1845; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989.

Institutes of the Christian Religion [1559]. 2 Vols. LCC 20-21. Ed. John T. McNeill. Trans. Ford Lewis Battles. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960.

Commentaries & Sermons

Calvin's Commentaries. 22 Vols. CTS. Grand Rapids: Reprint, Baker Book House Company, 1979.

Calvin's New Testaments Commentaries. Ed. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance. 12 Vols. Grand Rapids: Reprint, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989.

Supplementa Calviniana. Sermons inédits. Ed. Erwin Mühlhaupt *et al.* 8 vols. to date. Neukirchen: Neukirchner Verlag, 1936-.

Letters

Bonnet, Jules, ed. 1972. *Letters of John Calvin*. Compiled from the Original Manuscripts and edited with Historical Notes. Translated from the Latin and French Languages by Marcus Robert Gilchrist. 4 Vols. New York: Burt Franklin Reprints. [=LJC]

Herminjard, A. L. 1965. *Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française recueillie et publiée avec d'autres lettres relatives à la Réforme et des notes historiques et bibliographiques*. 9 Vols. Geneva, 1866-97; Reprint, Nieuwkoop.

Schwarz, Rudolf, ed. 1961-2. *Johannes Calvins Lebenswerk in seinen Briefen: Eine Auswahl von Briefen Calvins in deutscher Übersetzung*. 2 Vols. Neukirchen.

Other Writings

Calvin, John and Sadoletto, Jacopo. 1966. *A Reformation Debate: Sadoletto's Letter to the Genevans and Calvin's Reply*. Edited, with an Introduction by John C. Olin. New York: Harper Torchbooks.

Calvin, John. 1844-51. *Tracts and Treatises*. 3 vols. Trans. Henry Beveridge. Calvin Translation Society, Edinburgh. [=T&T]

_____. 1949. *Instruction in Faith* (1537). Trans. & Ed. Paul T. Fuhrmann. Foreword by John H. Leith. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1949. Reprint, Louisville: Westminster / John Knox Press, 1992.

_____. 1954. *Calvin: Theological Treatises*. Translated with Introductions and Notes by J. K. S. Reid. London: SCM Press Ltd. [=CTT]

_____. 1956. *Sermons on Isaiah's Prophecy of the Death and Passion of Christ*. Trans. T. H. L. Parker. London: James Clarke & Co.

_____. 1958. *Tracts and Treatises*. 3 Vols. Trans. Henry Beveridge. Historical notes added to the present edition by Thomas F. Torrance. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. [=T&T]

_____. 1958. *Tracts and Treatises*. Vol. 1. *On the Reformation of the Church*. Trans. Henry Beveridge. Historical Notes Added to the Present Edition by Thomas F. Torrance. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. [=T&T]

- _____. 1958. *Tracts and Treatises*. Vol. 2. *On the Doctrine and Worship of the Church*. Trans. Henry Beveridge. Historical Notes Added to the Present Edition by Thomas F. Torrance. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. [=T&T]
- _____. 1958. *Tracts and Treatises*. Vol. 3. *In Defense of the Reformed Faith*. Trans. Henry Beveridge. Historical Notes Added to the Present Edition by Thomas F. Torrance. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. [=T&T]
- _____. 1961. *Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God*. Trans. J. K. S. Reid. London: James Clarke.
- _____. 1969. *Calvin's Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia*. With Introduction, Translation, and Notes by Ford Lewis Battles and André Malan Hugo. Published for The Renaissance Society of America. Leiden: Brill.
- _____. 1970a. *Three French Treatises*. Ed. Francis M. Higman, London: The Athlone Press.
- _____. 1970b. 'Calvin's Saturday Morning Sermon on Micah 6.6-8.' Trans. A. David Lewis. *SJT* 23: 166-82.
- _____. *Concerning Scandals*. 1978. Trans. John W. Fraser. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- _____. 1980a. *John Calvin's Sermon on the Ten Commandments*. Ed. & Trans. Benjamin Farley. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- _____. 1980b. *Sermons on the Saving Work of Christ. John Calvin*. Selected and Translated by Leroy Nixon. Welwyn: Evangelical Press.
- _____. 1980c. 'The Form of Prayers and Songs of the Church, 1542. Letter to the Reader.' Trans. Ford Lewis Battles. *CTJ* 15: 160-65.
- _____. 1982. *Treatises Against the Anabaptists and Against the Libertines*. Translated by B. J. Farley. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- _____. 1983. *Sermons on the Epistles to Timothy & Titus. John Calvin*. Trans. L. T. Banner Facsimile Reprint. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust.
- _____. 1987. *John Calvin's Sermons on Ephesians*. Trans. Arthur Golding. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust.
- _____. 1990a. *Sermons on Micah by Jean Calvin*. Trans. Blair Reynolds. Texts and Studies in Religion. Vol. 47. Lewiston, N. Y: the Edwin Mellen Press.
- _____. 1990b. *Sermons on Jeremiah by Jean Calvin*. Trans. Blair Reynolds. Texts and Studies in Religion. Vol. 46. Lewiston, N. Y: the Edwin Mellen Press.
- _____. 1991a. *Calvin's Ecclesiastical Advice*. Trans. Mary Beaty & Benjamin W. Farley. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- _____. 1991b. 'Preface to the Homilies of Chrysostom.' Trans. W. Ian P. Hazlett, in Kirk 1991: 138-50 [Hazlett's introduction in pp. 129-38].
- _____. 1992. *Sermons on 2 Samuel. John Calvin*. Trans. Douglas Kelly. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust.
- _____. 1994. 'Apology of John Calvin, to Messrs. The Nicodemites upon the complaint that they make his too great rigour (1544).' Trans. Eric Kayayan. *CTJ* 29: 346-63.
- _____. 1996. *The Bondage and Liberation of the Will: A Defence of the Orthodox Doctrine of Human Choice against Pighius*. Ed. A. N. S. Lane, and Trans. G. I. Davies. Grand Rapids: Baker Books.
- _____. 1997a. 'Calvin's Catechism of 1538.' In Hesselink 1997: 1-38.

_____. 1997b. *John Calvin's Sermons on Galatians*. Trans. Kathy Childress. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust.

II. Other Works

- Abbott, Walter, S. J. 1966. *The Documents of Vatican II*. New York: America Press.
- Accattoli, Luigi. 1998. *When a Pope Asks Forgiveness: The Mea Culpa's of John Paul II*. Trans. Jordan Aumann. New York: Alba House
- Afanassieff, N., N. Koulomzine, J. Meyendorff, and A. Schmemmann. 1963. *The Primacy of Peter*. Leighton Buzzard: The Faith Press.
- Afanassieff, Nicolas. 1963. 'The Church Which Presides in Love.' In Afanassieff, Koulomzine, Meyendorff and Schmemmann 1963: 57-110.
- Aland, Kurt. 1968. 'The Relation Between Church and State in Early Times: A Reinterpretation.' *JTS* 19: 115-127.
- Alberigo, Giuseppe. 1988. 'The Council of Trent.' In O'Malley 1988: 211-26.
- _____, ed. 2000. *History of Vatican II. Vol. III. The Mature Council: Second Period and Intersession. September 1963-September 1964*. English Version Edited by Joseph A. Komonchak. Maryknoll: Orbis; Leuven: Peeters.
- Alfsvåg, Knut. 1987. 'Language and Reality. Luther's Relation to Classical Rhetoric in Rationis Latomianae Confutation (1521).' *STh* 41: 85-126.
- Alivisatos, Hamilcar. 1966. 'What Basic Demands would the Orthodox Make on the Church of Rome?' *Conc* 4: 33-5.
- Allchin, Arthur M. 1971. 'Can a Petrine Office be Meaningful in the Church? 3. An Anglican Reply.' *Conc* 4: 127-31.
- Allen E. L. 1954. 'On this Rock.' *JTS* 5:59-62.
- Anderson, H. G. Murphy, T. S. and Burgess, J. A., ed. 1985. *Justification by Faith: Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue VII*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House.
- Anderson, Marvin W. 1968. 'Trent and Justification (1546): A Protestant Reflection.' *SJT* 21: 385-406.
- Aquinas, Thomas. 1999. *Catena Aurea. A Commentary on the Four Gospels Collected out of the Works of the Fatherrs. Vol. I. St. Matthew*. First published in English by John Henry Parker, Oxford, 1941. London: The Saint Austin Press.
- Atkinson, P. 1984. 'Martin Luther: Prophet to the Church Catholic.' *SJT* 37: 313-27.
- Augustijn, Cornelis and Kroon, Marijn de, ed. 1995. *Martini Bucer Opera Omnia: Series 1: Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften. Vol. 9. 1. Religionsgespräche (1539-1541)*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Augustijn, Cornelis. 1991. 'Die Autorschaft des Consilium admodum paternum.' In van 't Spijker 1991: 255-69.
- _____. 1994a. 'Bucer's Ecclesiology in the Colloquies with the Catholics, 1540-41.' In Wright 1994a: 107-21.
- _____. 1994b. 'Calvin in Strasbourg.' In Neuser 1994: 166-77.
- Avis, P. D. L. 1981. 'Richard Hooker and John Calvin.' *JEH* 32: 19-33.

- Ayers, Robert H. 1980. 'Language, Logic and Reason in Calvin's Institutes.' *RS* 16: 283-97.
- Backus, Irena. 1991. 'Calvin's Judgment of Eusebius of Caesarea: An Analysis.' *SCJ* 22: 417-37.
- _____. 1993. 'Martin Bucer and the Patristic Tradition.' In Krieger and Marc 1993a: 55-69.
- _____, ed. 1997a. *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West. From the Carolingians to the Maurists*. Vol. 1. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.
- _____, ed. 1997b. *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West. From the Carolingians to the Maurists*. Vol. 2. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.
- _____. 1997c. 'Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer and the Church Fathers.' In Backus 1997b: 627-60.
- _____. 1998. 'The Church Fathers and the Canonicity of the Apocalypse in the Sixteenth Century: Erasmus, Frans Titelmans, and Theodore Beza.' *SCJ* 29: 651-65.
- _____. 2000. *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse: Geneva, Zurich, and Wittenberg*. Oxford Studies in Historical Theology. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bagchi, David V. N. 1991. *Luther's Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists 1518-1525*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- _____. 2000. 'Luther's Catholic Opponents.' In Pettegree 2002a: 97-108.
- Baker, J. Wayne. 1988. 'Church, State, and Dissent: The Crisis of the Swiss Reformation, 1531-1536.' *CH* 57: 135-52.
- Balthasar, Hans Urs Von. 1986. *The Office of Peter and the Structure of the Church*. Trans. Andr  e Emery. San Francisco: Ignatius Press.
- Bammel, C.P. 1996. 'Justification by Faith in Augustine and Origen.' *JEH* 47:223-35.
- Barth, Karl 1950. 'The Real Church.' *SJT* 3: 337-51.
- Basil Hall, 1967 *John Calvin: Humanist and Theologian*. 2nd Revised Edition. London: London Historical Society.
- Battles, Ford Lewis. 1965. *Temple or Tomb? Reflections on Papal History: Sketched in Dramatic Form*. Hartford: The Hartford Seminary Foundation.
- _____. 1970a. 'Book Review on Calvin et Vatican II: L'Eglise Servante.' *JES* 7: 807-9.
- _____. 1970b. *The Documents of Vatican II in Historical Perspective. The Background, Drafting, and Implication for the Future of the Church*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary.
- _____. 1980. *Analysis of the Institutes of the Christian Religion of John Calvin*. Grand Rapids: Baker.
- Baum, Gregory. 1966. 'The Protestant Response to the Council.' *JES* 3: 360-63.
- _____. 1967. 'The Magisterium in a Changing Church.' *Conc* 1: 34-42.
- Baumgartner, Frederic J. 1985. 'Henry II and the Papal Conclave of 1549.' *SCJ* 15: 301-14.
- Bavaud, Georges. 1968. 'La doctrine de la justification d'apr  s Calvin et le Concile de Trente: Une conciliation est-elle possible?' *VC* 22: 83-92.
- _____. 1988. 'Les interventions de Pierre Viret    la «Dispute» en rapport avec son enseignement ult  rieur.' In Junod 1988a: 123-32.

- Baylor, Michael G. 1977. *Action and Person: Conscience in Late Scholasticism and the Young Luther*. Leiden: Brill.
- Benoît, Jean-Daniel. 1966. 'The History and Development of the Institutio: How Calvin Worked.' In G. E. Duffield 1966: 102-17.
- Berger, Heinrich. 1955. *Calvins Geschichtsauffassung*. Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag.
- Berkhof, Hendrikus. 1969. 'The Pope—A Protestant View.' *Conc* 4: 63-5.
- Berkouwer, G. C. 1959. 'Calvin and Rome.' In Hoogstra 1959: 185-96.
- _____. 1965. *The Second Vatican Council and the New Catholicism*. Trans. Lewis B. Smedes. Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans.
- Betten, Francis. 1932. *The Roman Index of Forbidden Books*. Chicago: Loyola University Press.
- Bettenson, Henry, ed. 1967. *Documents of the Christian Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bévenot, Maurice. 1938. *St. Cyprian's De Unitate. Chap. 4 in the Light of the Manuscripts*. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd.
- _____. 1954. '“Primatus Petro Datur.” ST. Cyprian on the Papacy.' *JTS* 5:19-35.
- Beza, Theodore. 1997. *The Life of John Calvin*. Durham: Evangelical Press.
- Biechler, James E. 1975. 'Nicholas of Cusa and the End of the Conciliar Movement: A Humanist Crisis of Identity.' *CH* 44: 5-21.
- Biel, Pamela. 1991. 'Heinrich Bullinger's Death and Testament: A Well-planned Departure.' *SCJ* 22: 3-14.
- Bizer, Ernst. 1958. *Luther und der Papst*. Munich.
- Black, A.J. 1969. 'The Political Ideas of Conciliarism and Papalism, 1430-1450.' *JEH* 20: 45-65.
- Blank, Josef. 1973. 'The Person and Office of Peter in the New Testament.' *Conc* 3: 42-55.
- Blaser, Klauspeter. 1988. 'L'Ecriture, son rôle et son interprétation selon la Dispute de Lausanne.' In Junod 1988a: 49-59.
- Blockmans, Wim. 2002. *Emperor Charles V 1500-1558*. Trans. Isola van den Hoven-Vardon. London: Arnold.
- Bonaiuti, Ernesto 1917. 'The Genesis of St. Augustine's Idea of Original Sin.' *HTR* 10:159-175.
- Bornkamm, H., ed. 1952. *Martin Bucers Bedeutung für die europäische Reformationsgeschichte*. Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, no. 169. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Bosc, Jean. 1966a. 'Que peut avoir à dire Calvin aux catholiques aujourd'hui?' *Conc* 14: 31-6.
- _____. 1966b. 'What Would Calvin Say to Present-day Catholics?' *Conc* 4: 16-19.
- Bossy, John, 1994. 'the German Reformation after Moeller.' *JEH* 45: 673-84.
- Bostick, Curtis V. 1998. *The Antichrist and the Lollards: Apocalypticism in Late Medieval and Reformation England*. Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill.
- Boureau, Alain. 2001. *The Myth of Pope Joan*. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Boyer, Charles. 1972. 'Jean Calvin Et Saint Augustin.' *AS* 3: 14-33.
- Braaten, Carl, and Robert W. Jenson, eds. 2001. *Church Unity and the Papal Office*. Grand Rapids/ Cambridge: Eerdmans.

- Brady, Thomas A., Jr. 1978. *Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg, 1520-1555*. Leiden: Brill.
- _____. 1995. *Protestant Politics: Jacob Sturm (1489-1553) and the German Reformation*. Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press.
- Brady, T. A., Jr. and Oberman, H. A. and Tracy, J. D, ed. 1995a. *Handbook of European History 1400-1600*. Vol. 1. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.
- _____, ed. 1995b. *Handbook of European History 1400-1600*. Vol. 2. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.
- Braekman, E. M. 1988. 'Les intervention de Calvin.' In Eric Junod 1988a: 170-7.
- Bray, John S. 1973. 'The Value of Works in the Theology of Calvin and Beza.' *SCJ* 4: 77-86.
- Brecht, Martin. 1985. *Martin Luther: his road to Reformation, 1483-1521*. Translated by James L. Schaaf. Philadelphia : Fortress Press.
- _____. 1990. *Martin Luther: shaping and defining the Reformation, 1521-1532*. Trans. James L. Schaaf. Minneapolis : Fortress Press.
- _____. 1993a. 'Bucer und Luther.' In Krieger and Lienhard 1993a: 351-367.
- _____. 1993b. *Martin Luther: the Preservation of the Church, 1532-1546*. Trans. James L. Schaaf. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Breen, Quirinus. 1931. *John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism*. Grand Rapids
- _____. 1947. 'The Terms "Locī Communes" and "Locī" in Melancthon.' *CH* 16: 197-209.
- _____. 1957. 'John Calvin and the Rhetorical Tradition.' *CH* 26: 3-21.
- Brent, Allen. 1993. 'Diogenes Laertius and the Apostolic Succession.' *JEH* 44: 367-389.
- Brinton, Henry. 1968. *The Context of the Reformation*. London: Hutchinson Educational Ltd.
- Brockwell, Charles W., Jr. 1977. 'Augustine's Ideal of Monastic Community: A Paradigm for His Doctrine of the Church.' *AS* 8: 91-109.
- Brooks, P. N., ed. 1983. *Seven-Headed Luther: Essays in Commemoration of a Quincentenary 1483-1983*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Brown, Peter. 1968. 'Pelagius and His Supporters: Aims and Environment.' *JTS* 19:93-114.
- Brown, Raymond E., ed. 1973. *Peter in the New Testament: A Collective Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars*. London: Geoffrey Chapman.
- Brown, Robert McAfee. 1967. *The Ecumenical Revolution*. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Bruce, F. F. 1970. *Tradition Old and New*. Exeter: Paternoster.
- Buckley, Theodore Alois. 1852. *A History of the Council of Trent with a Chronological Summary*. London: George Routledge & Co.
- Buehrer, Richard L. 1974. 'John Calvin's Humanistic Approach to Church History.' Ph.D. diss., Washington.
- Bühlmann, Walbert. 1966. 'The Church of Africa from the Council of Jerusalem to Vatican II.' *Conc* 3: 20-30.
- Burger, Christoph. 1998. 'Calvin comme maître de ses amis dans la première de ses Epistolae duae (1537).' In Olivier Millet 1998: 149-58.
- Burn, A. E. 1925. *The Council of Nicaea: A Memorial for its Sixteenth Century*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

- Burnett, Amy Nelson. 1991. 'Church Discipline and Moral Reformation in the thought of Martin Bucer.' *SCJ* 22: 439-56.
- Burns, J. Patout, Jr. 2002. *Cyprian the Bishop*. Routledge Early Church Monographs. London and New York: Routledge.
- Burns, Loretta T. Johnson. 1994. 'The Politics of Conversion: John Calvin and the Bishop of Troyes.' *SCJ* 25: 809-22.
- Busch, Eberhard, ed. 1994a. *Calvin-Studienausgabe*. Band 1. *Reformatorsche Anfänge (1533-1541)*, Teil 1/ 1. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag.
- _____, ed. 1994b. *Calvin Studienausgabe*, Band 1.2. *Reformatorsche Anfänge (1533-41)*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener.
- Butin, Philip W. 1994. *Reformed Ecclesiology: Trinitarian Grace According to Calvin*. Studies in Reformed Theology and History. Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary.
- Butler, David. 1996. *Dying to be One*. London: SCM.
- Cadier, J. 1965. 'Sadolet et Calvin.' In *Regards Contemporains sur Jean Calvin. Actes du colloque Calvin, Strasbourg 1964*, 239-252. Paris: Press universitaires de France.
- _____. 1966. 'Calvin and the Union of the Churches.' In Duffield 1966:118-30.
- Caiger, B. J. 1990. 'Doctrine and Discipline in the Church of Jean Gerson.' *JEH* 41: 389-407.
- Calvin Bibliography (1997-2001, compiled by Paul Fields). (Online search found in <http://www.calvin.edu/meeter/biblio.htm>). Grand Rapids: H. Henry Meeter Center for Calvin Studies.
- Cameron, Euan. 1991. *The European Reformation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- _____. 1994. 'The Search for Luther's Place in the Reformation.' *JEH* 45: 475-85.
- Cameron, Richard. 1969. 'The Attack on the Biblical Work of Lefèvre d'Étaples, 1514-1521,' *CH* 38: 2-24.
- _____. 1970. 'The Charges of Lutheranism Brought Against Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. *HTR* 63: 119-49.
- Campbell J.Y. 1948. 'The Origin and Meaning of the Christian Use of the Word ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ.' *JTS* 49: 130-42.
- Caragounis, Chrys C. 1990. *Peter and the Rock*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Carpi-Mailly, Olivia. 1998. 'Jean Calvin et Louis du Tillet: entre foi et amitié, un échange révélateur.' In Olivier Millet 1998: 7-19.
- Carter, David. 1998. 'The Ecumenical Movement in its Early Years.' *JEH* 49: 465-85.
- Caspar, Erich Ludwig Eduard. 1930. *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft. I. Römische Kirche und Imperium Romanum*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr.
- _____. 1933. *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft. II. Das Papsttum unter byzantinischer Herrschaft*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr.
- Cassander, Georg. 1561. *De officio pii ac publicae tranquillitatis vere amantis viri in hoc religionis dissidio*. Basel. [=Cassander, Georg. 1562. *De officio pii ac publicae tranquillitatis vere amantis viri in hoc religionis dissidio*. Paris: Hercules Franciscus.]

- Casteel, Theodore W. 1970. 'Calvin and Trent: Calvin's Reaction to the Council of Trent in the Context of His Conciliar Thought.' *HTR* 63: 91-117.
- Cavadini, John C., ed. 1995. *Gregory the Great. A Symposium*. Notre Dame & London: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Chadwick, Henry. 1957. 'St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome: the Problem of the Memoria Apostolorum ad Catacumbas.' *JTS* 8: 31-52.
- _____. 1959. *The Circle and the Ellipse : Rival Concepts of Authority in the Early Church*. Oxford : Clarendon Press.
- _____. 1972. 'The Origin of the Title "Oecumenical Council".' *JTS* 23: 132-135.
- _____. 1990. 'Paul VI and Vatican II.' *JEH* 41: 463-69.
- _____. 1994. *Tradition and Exploration. Collected Papers on Theology and the Church*. Norwich: The Canterbury Press.
- _____. 1994a. 'Episcopacy in the New Testament and Early Church.' Chap. in *Tradition and Exploration. Collected Papers on Theology and the Church*. Norwich: The Canterbury Press.
- _____. 1994b. 'Ministry and Tradition.' Chap. in *Tradition and Exploration. Collected Papers on Theology and the Church*. Norwich: The Canterbury Press.
- Chapman, John. 1928. *Studies on the Early Papacy*. London: Sheed & Ward.
- Charles Milner, Benjamin, Jr. 1970. *Calvin Doctrine of the Church*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Chemnitz, Martin. 1971. *Examination of the Council of Trent. Part I*. Trans. Fred Kramer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House.
- _____. 1978. *Examination of the Council of Trent. Part II*. Trans. Fred Kramer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House.
- _____. 1986a. *Examination of the Council of Trent. Part III*. Trans. Fred Kramer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House.
- _____. 1986b. *Examination of the Council of Trent. Part IV*. Trans. Fred Kramer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House.
- Chrisman, Miriam Usher and Grundler, Otto, ed. 1978. *Social Groups and Religious Ideas in the Sixteenth Century*. Studies in Medieval Culture. Vol. 13. Kalamazoo: The Medieval Institute.
- Chrisman, Miriam Usher. 1982. 'From Polemic to Propaganda: The Development of Mass Persuasion in the Late Sixteenth Century.' *ARG* 73: 175-98.
- Christianon, Gerald and Izicki, Thomas M. 1966. *Nicholas of Cusa on Christ and the Church*. Essays in Memory of Chandler McCuskey Brooks for the American Cusanus Society. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.
- Church, Frederic C. 1932. *The Italian Reformers, 1534-1564*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius. 1870. *The De Oratore of Cicero*. Trans. F. B. Calvert. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.
- Ciprotti, Pio. 1970. 'The Holy See: Its Function, Form and Status in International Law.' *Conc* 8: 63-73.
- Clarkson, John, et al., eds. 1955. *The Church Teaches*. St. Louis: Herder Book Co.
- Clendenin, Daniel B. 2002. *Eastern Orthodox Christianity: A Western Perspective*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books.

- Coates, Simon J. 1996. 'The Bishop as Pastor and Solitary: Bede and the Spiritual Authority of the Monk-Bishop.' *JEH* 47: 601-19.
- Coates, Thomas. 1992. Calvin's Doctrine of Justification.' In *Articles* 8: 193-203.
- Code of Canon Law, Latin-English Edition*. 1983. Washington, DC: Canon Law Society of America.
- Cole, Reichard G. 1975. 'The Reformation in Print: German pamphlets and Propaganda'. *ARG* 66: 93-103.
- Coleman, Christopher B. 1922. *The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine, Text and Translation*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Contarini, Gasparo. 'De officio episcopi, 1516.' In Olin 1969: 90-106.
- Conzemius, Victor. 1971. 'Why was the Primacy of the Pope defined in 1870?' *Conc* 4: 82-3.
- Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*. Recueillie par Hippolyte Aubert. Vol. IV (1562-1563) Genève: Droz, 1965. [=CTB]
- Courtenay, William J. 1989. 'Inquiry and Inquisition: Academic Freedom in Medieval Universities.' *CH* 58: 168-181.
- Courvoisier, Jaques. 1965. 'La dialectique dans l'ecclésiologie de Calvin.' In *Regards contemporains sur Jean Calvin, Actes du Colloque Calvin, Strasbourg, 1964*, 86-101. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
- _____. 1967. 'Farel and Geneva.' *MQ* 21: 123-35.
- Cowdrey, H.E.J. 1969. 'The Dissemination of St. Augustine's Doctrine of Holy Orders During the Later Patristic Age.' *JTS* 20: 448-481.
- Craig, William Lane. 1984. 'Augustine on Foreknowledge and Free Will.' *AS* 15:41-63.
- Crawford, David J. 1967. 'God in Human History. A Study of Calvin's Understanding of History with Special Reference to the Institutes.' PhD. Thesis, Toronto.
- Crimando, Thomas I. 1988. 'Two French Views of the Council of Trent.' *SCJ* 19: 169-86.
- Crofts, Richard. 1980 'Books, Reform and the Reformation' *ARG* 71: 21-36.
- Cullmann, Oscar. 1959. 'Petros.' In *TDNT* 6.
- _____. 1962. *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr. A Historical and Theological Study*. Trans. Floyd V. Filson. 2nd Revised and Expanded Edition. London: SCM.
- _____. 1986. *Unity through Diversity*. Trans. J. C. B. Mohr. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Cuming, G. J. and Baker, Derek, eds. 1971. *Councils and Assemblies*. Studies in Church History 7. Cambridge: At the University Press.
- Cunningham, Andrew and Grell, Ole Peter. 2000. *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine and Death in Reformation Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cyprian, C. 1971. *De Lapsis and De Ecclesiae Catholicae Unitate*. Text and Translation by Maurice Bévenot. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- D'Amico, John F. 1980. 'Beatus Rhenanus, Tertullian and the Reformation: A Humanist's Critique of Scholasticism.' *ARG* 7: 37-63.
- d'Assonville, V. E. 1988. 'Observations on Calvin's Responsio to Cardinal Sadoletus's Letter to the Genevans.' In Neuser 1988: 151-64.

- D'Onofrio, Giulio. 1996. *History of Theology*. Vol. III. *The Renaissance*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press.
- Daly, Cahal B. 1993. *Tertullian the Puritan and His Influence: An Essay in Historical Theology*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Davids, Adalbert. 1972. 'One or None: Cyprian on the Church and Tradition.' *Conc* 1: 46-52.
- Davis, Charles. 1971. 'Questions for the Papacy Today.' *Conc* 4: 12-20.
- De Greef, Wulfert. 1993. *The Writings of John Calvin: An Introductory Guide*. Trans. Lyle D. Bierma. Grand Rapids: Baker Books.
- De Klerk, Peter, ed. 1993. *Calvin and the State, Papers and Responses Presented at the Seventh and Eighth Colloquia on Calvin & Calvin Studies Sponsord by the Calvin Studies Society*. Grand Rapids: Calvin Studies Society.
- De Vooght, Paul. 1971. 'The Results of Recent Historical Research on Conciliarism.' *Conc* 4: 148-57.
- De Vries, Wilhelm. 1971. 'Theoretical and Practical Renewals of the Primacy of Rome. I. The Development after Constantine.' *Conc* 4: 45-53.
- Deems, Mervin Monroe. 1945. 'Augustine's Use of Scripture.' *CH* 14: 188-99.
- Denzinger, Henricus. 1957. *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*. Trans. Roy J. Deferrari from the Thirtieth Edition of Henry Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum*. London: B. Herder Book Co.
- _____. 1967. *Enchiridion Symbolorum: definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*. Editio XXXIV. Barcinone, Friburgi, Brisgoviae, Romae, Neo-eboraci: Herder.
- Dipple, Geoffrey L. 1996. 'Luther, Emser and the Development of Reformation Anticlericalism.' *ARG* 87: 38-56.
- Divita, James J. 1992. 'The Italian Sojourn of John Calvin: 1536.' In *Articles* 2: 139-65.
- Dixon, C. Scott, ed. 1999. *The German Reformation: The Essential Reading*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Dobiáš, F. M. 1967. 'Calvin-Luther-Hus.' *Communio Viatorum* 10: 259-67.
- Dolan, J. P. 1988. 'Catholic Controversial Literature, 1518-1555: Some Statistics.' *ARG* 79: 189-204.
- Döllinger, Ignatz. 1906. *The First Age of Christianity and of the Church*. London: Gibbings & Co.
- Douglas, Richard M. 1959. *Jacopo Sadoletto 1477-1547. Humanist and Reformer*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Douglass, Jane Dempsey. 1997. 'A Reformed Perspective on the Ecumenical Movement.' *PSB* 18: 29-45.
- Doumergue, Emile. 1899-1927. *Jean Calvin, les hommes et les choses de son temps*. 7 Vols. Lausanne: G. Bridel.
- Dudden, F. Homes. 1905a. *Gregory the Great: His Place in History and Thought*. Vol. I. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- _____. 1905b. *Gregory the Great: His Place in History and Thought*. Vol. II. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- Dueck, Abe J. 1975. 'Unpublished Letter Pertaining to Developments Prior to the Colloquy Between Bucer and Melancthon, December 1534.' *ARG* 66: 141-51.

- Duffield, G. E., ed. 1966. *John Calvin: A Collection of Distinguished Essays*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Duggan, Lawrence G. 1978. 'The Unresponsiveness of The Late Medieval Church: A Reconsideration.' *SCJ* 9:3-26.
- _____. 1984. 'Fear and Confession on the eve of the Reformation' *ARG* 75:153-75.
- Dulles, Avery. 1968. 'The Succession of Prophets in the Church.' *Conc* 4: 28-32.
- Dupuis, J., ed. 1996. *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*. Sixth Revised and Enlarged Edition. New York: Alba House.
- Dupuy, Bernard D. 1968. 'Is there a Dogmatic Distinction between the function of Priests and the Function of Bishops?' *Conc* 4: 38-44.
- Dvornik, Francis. 1966. 'Which Councils are Ecumenical?' *JES* 3: 314-27.
- Dykema, Peter A. and Oberman, Heiko A., eds. 1993. *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: New York, Köln: Brill.
- Eck, J. 1521. *De primatu Petri. Adversus Lutherum*. Ioannis Eckii libri tres. Folio, 1-78, 1-46, 1-69^v. Paris: P. Vidovaeus.
- _____. 1979a. *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutherum et alios hostes ecclesiae (1525-1543)*. Ed. Pierre Fraenkel. Corpus Catholicorum 34. Ed. E. Iserloh. Münster: Aschendorff.
- _____. 1979b. *Enchiridion of Commonplaces Against Luther and Other Enemies of the Church*. Trans. Ford Lewis Battles. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- Edwards, Mark U., Jr. 1983. *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics 1531-46*. Leiden: Brill.
- Eells, Hastings. 1924. 'Martin Bucer and the Conversion of John Calvin.' *PTR* 22: 402-19.
- _____. 1928. 'The Origin of the Regensburg Book.' *PTR* 26: 355-72.
- _____. 1931. 'The Contribution of Martin Bucer to the Reformation.' *HTR* 24: 39-40.
- _____. 1951. 'The Failure of Church Unification Efforts during the German Reformation.' *ARG* 42: 160-74.
- _____. 1971. *Martin Bucer*. New York: Russell & Russell.
- _____. 1992. 'Martin Bucer and the Conversion of John Calvin.' In *Articles* 2: 18-36.
- Eire, Carlos M. N. 1979. 'Calvin and Nicodemism: A Reappraisal.' *SCJ* 10: 4569.
- _____. 1985. 'Prelude to Sedition? Calvin's Attack on Nicodemism and Religious Compromise.' *ARG* 120-45.
- _____. 1986. *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1993. 'Antisacerdotalism and the Young Calvin.' In Dykema and Oberman 1993: 583-603.
- Elm, Kaspar, ed. 1994. *Bernhard von Clairvaux. Rezeption und Wirkung im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*. Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz.
- Elton, G. R., ed. 1965. *The New Cambridge Modern History*. Vol. II. *The Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Emerton, Ephraim. 1920. *The Defensor Pacis of Marsiglio of Padua*. Harvard Theological Studies VIII. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Engammare, Max. 1998. 'Calvin: A Prophet without a Prophecy.' *CH* 67: 643-61.

- Engel, Mary Potter. 1988. *John Calvin's Perspectival Anthropology*. American Academy of Religion Academy Series, 52. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Engelsma, David J. 1988. 'Martin Bucer: "Fanatic of Unity".' *MAJT* 4: 32-53.
- Eno, Robert B. 1981. 'Doctrinal Authority in Saint Augustine.' *AS* 12: 133-72.
- Enos, Robert B. 1990. *The Rise of the Papacy*. Wilmington: Michael Glazier.
- Erasmus, Desiderius. 1986a. *Collected Works of Erasmus*. Vol. 27. *Literary and Educational Writings*, 5. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press. [=CWE]
- _____. 1986b. 'Julius Excluded from Heaven: a Dialogue. *Dialogus Julius exclusus e coelis*.' In *CWE* 27: 77-154.
- Estes, James M. 1998. 'The Role of Godly Magistrates in the Church: Melancthon as Luther's Interpreter and Collaborator.' *CH* 67: 463-83.
- Evans, E. F. 1954. ' "Primatus Petro Datur" St. Cyprian on the Papacy'. *JTS* 5: 19-35.
- Evans, G. R. 1986. *The Thought of Gregory the Great*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 2002. *Law and Theology in the Middle Ages*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Evdokimov, Paul. 1966. 'The Fundamental Desires of the Orthodox Church vis-à-vis the Catholic Church.' *Conc* 4: 36-40.
- _____. 1971. 'Can a Petrine Office be Meaningful in the Church? 2. A Russian Orthodox Reply.' *Conc* 4: 122-26.
- Evennett, H. Outram. 1930. *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent: A Study in the Counter-Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1972. 'The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Colloquy of Poissy.' *CHJ* 2: 133-50.
- Every, George. 1938. 'The Roots of the Reformation.' In Mackenzie 1938: 157-78.
- Exarchos, Basil. 1969. 'The Pope—An Orthodox View.' *Conc* 4: 65-7.
- Farge, James K. 1978. 'Self-Image and Authority of Paris Theologians in Early Reformation France.' In Chrisman and Grundler 1978: 68-75.
- _____. 1985. *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformatio France. The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500-1543*. Leiden: Brill.
- Fenlon, Dermot. 1992. 'Review Article. The Origins of Modern Catholicism.' *JEH* 43: 102-9.
- Fenn, William W. 1909. 'The marrow of Calvin's Theology.' *HTR* 2: 323-39.
- Firth, Katharine R. 1979. *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, Danielle. 1975. 'La polemique anti-Romaine dans l'Institution de la Religion Chrestienne de Jean Calvin.' PhD. Thesis. 2 Vols. Strasbourg University.
- _____. 1985. 'Ministeres et instruments d'unité de l'Englise dans la pensée de Luther et de Calvin. *Istina* 30: 8-46.
- Flaming, Darlene Kaye. 1998. 'The Appeal to the Apostles: The Use of the Apostolic Church in the Writings of John Calvin.' PhD Thesis, Univesity of Notre Dame.
- Ford, John T. 1970. 'Infallibility: Primacy, Collegiality, Laity.' *Jurist* 30: 436-46.
- _____. 1979. 'Infallibility: A Review of Recent Studies.' *ThS* 40: 273-305.
- _____. 1982. 'Papal Primacy and Infallibility in Ecumenical Perspective.' *RSR* 8: 342-47.

- Forell, George Wolfgang. 1977. 'The Formula of Concord and the Teaching Ministry.' *SCJ* 8: 39-47.
- Foster, Herbert Darling 1908 'Calvin's Programme for a Puritan State in Geneva.' *HTR* 1: 389-435.
- Fraenkel, P. 1961. *Testimonia Patrum. The Function of the Patristic Argument in the Theology of Philip Melancthon*. Geneva: Droz.
- _____. 1965. 'Quelques observations sur le "Tu es Petrus" chez Calvin, au colloque de Worms en 1540 et dans l'institution de 1543.' In *BHR* 27: 607-28. Geneva: Droz.
- _____. 1967. 'John Eck's Enchiridion of 1525 and Luther's Earliest Arguments Against Papal Primacy.' *STh* 21: 116-63.
- _____. 1984. 'Trois passages de l'Institution de 1543 et leurs rapports avec les colloques interconfessionnels de 1540-41.' In Neuser 1984: 149-57.
- Friedberg, E., ed. 1879. *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. Vol. 1. Lipsiae: B. Tauchnitz.
- Fries, Heinrich 1964. 'The Ecclesiological Status of the Protestant Churches from a Catholic Viewpoint.' *JES* 1:195-212.
- Fries, Heinrich and Rahner, Karl. 1985. *Unity of the Churches: An Actual Possibility*. Trans. Ruth C. L. Gritsch and Eric W. Gritsch. Philadelphia: Fortress Prss; New York and Ramsey: Paulist Press.
- Fuellenbach, John. 1980. *Ecclesiastical office and the primacy of Rome: An evaluation of recent theological discussion of First Clement*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press.
- Fuhrmann, Horst. 1971. 'Theoretical and Practical Renewals of the Primacy of Rome. 2. From the Early Middle Ages until the Gregorian Reform.' *Conc* 4: 54-61.
- Furcha, E. J., ed. 1984. *Encounters with Luther: Papers from the 1983 McGill Luther Symposium*. Montreal: McGill University.
- _____. ed. 1987. *In honor of John Calvin, 1509-64: Papers from the 1986 International Calvin Symposium*. Montreal: Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University.
- Galvin, John P. 1986. 'Papal Primacy in Contemporary Roman Catholic Theology.' *ThS* 47: 653-67
- Gamble, Richard C. 1985. 'Brevitas et Facilitas: toward an Understanding of Calvin's Hermeneutic.' *WTJ* 47: 1-17.
- _____. 1992. *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism*. 14 Vols. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- _____. 1994. 'Current Trends in Calvin Research, 1982-90.' In Neuser 1994: 97-101.
- Ganoczy, Alexandre. 1964. *Calvin théologien de l'église et du ministère*. [Unum sanctum 48]. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- _____. 1965. 'La Structure collégiale de l'Eglise chez Calvin et au 2e Concile du Vatican.' *Irenikon* 38: 6-32.
- _____. 1966a. *Le jeune Calvin: Genèse et évolution de sa vocation réformatrice*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH.
- _____. 1966b. *Calvin im Urteil der Katholiken von heute*. *Conc* 2: 245a-48b.
- _____. 1966c. 'Calvin dans le jugement des catholiques d'aujourd'hui.' *Conc* 14: 37-44.

- _____. 1966d. 'Calvin in Present-day Catholic Thought.' *Conc* 4: 20-3.
- _____. 1968a. *Calvin et Vatican II: l'Eglise servante*. Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf.
- _____. 1968b. *Ecclesia Ministrans: Dienende Kirche und Kirchlicher Dienst bei Calvin*. Trans. Hans Sayer. Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder.
- _____. 1969. 'Ministère, épiscopat, primauté' *Istina* 14: 99-136.
- _____. 1971. 'How can one evaluate Collegiality vis-à-vis Papal Primacy?' *Conc* 4: 84-94.
- _____. 1977. 'L'Eglise, communauté ou institution? L'héritage ecclésiologique de Calvin.' *RTP* 27: 222-34.
- _____. 1988. *The Young Calvin*. Trans. David Foxgrover and Wade Provo. Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd.
- _____. 1996. 'Calvin.' *OER* 1: 234-9.
- Ganzer, Klaus and zur Mühlen, Karl-Heinz, ed. 2000a. *Akten der deutschen Reichsreligionsgespräche im 16. Jahrhundert. Erster Band. Das Hagenauer Religionsgespräch (1540)*. Vol. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- _____. 2000b. *Akten der deutschen Reichsreligionsgespräche im 16. Jahrhundert. Erster Band. Das Hagenauer Religionsgespräch (1540)*. Vol. 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Gerrish, B. A. 1957. 'Biblical Authority and the Continental Reformation.' *SJT* 10: 337-60.
- _____. 1967. 'John Calvin and the Meaning of Reformation.' *MQ* 21: 114-22.
- _____. 1969. 'John Calvin and the Reformed Doctrine of the Lord's Supper' *MQ* 22: 85-98.
- Gilchrist, J. J. 1962. 'Canon Law Aspects of the Eleventh Century Gregorian Reform Programme.' *JEH* 13: 22-38.
- Giles, E., ed. 1952. *Documents Illustrating Papal Authority A.D. 96-454*. London: SPCK.
- Gill, Joseph. 1959. *The Council of Florence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1979. *Church Union: Rome and Byzantium (1204-1543)*. London: Variorum Reprints.
- Gilmont, Jean-François. 1997. *Jean Calvin et le livre imprimé*. Genève: Droz.
- _____, ed. 1998. *The Reformation and the Book*. Translated by Karin Maag. H. St Andrews Studies in Reformation History Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Gleason, Elisabeth G. 1987. *Reform Thought in Sixteenth-Century Italy*. Texts and Translations Series. American Academy of Religion. Ann Arbor: Scholar's Press.
- Gleason, Elisabeth. 1993. *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform*. Oxford: University of California Press.
- Glossaire: Dictionnaire des locutions obscures et des mots viellis qui se rencontrent dans les oeuvres de Jehan Calvin*. 1968. Genève: Slatkine Reprints.
- Goodall, Norman. 1964. *The ecumenical movement: what it is and what it does*. 2nd ed. London: Oxford University Press.
- Goodman, Anthony and Mackay, Angus, ed. 1993. *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*. London and New York: Longman.

- Grane, Leif and Schindler, Alfred and Wriedt, Markus, ed. 1993. *Auctoritas Patrum. Contributions on the Reception of the Church Fathers in the 15th and 16th Century*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Grane, Leif, Schindler, Alfred and Wriedt, Markus, ed. 1998. *Auctoritas Patrum II: New Contributions on the Reception of the Church Fathers in the 15th and 16th Century*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Green, F. W., ed. 1950. *The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*. 4th Edition. London: Methuen.
- Green, Lowell C. 1966 'Luther's Understanding of the Freedom of God and the Salvation of Man: His Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:4.' *ARG* 87: 57-73.
- _____. 1972. 'Faith, Righteousness, and Justification: New Light on Their Development under Luther and Melancton.' *SCJ* 4: 65-86.
- _____. 1984. 'Luther's Understanding of Justification.' In Furcha 1984: 45-66.
- Greenslade, S. L., ed. 1963. *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. Vol. 3. *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Grendler, Paul F. 1984. 'The Schools of Christian Doctrine in Sixteenth-Century Italy.' *CH* 53: 319-31.
- Grimes, Donald J. 1981. 'The Papacy and the Petrine Texts: A Study in the History of Biblical Exegesis (A.D. 800-1300).' Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame.
- Grislis, Egil. 1962. 'Calvin's Doctrine of Baptism' *CH* 31: 46-65.
- _____. 1971. 'Calvin's Use of Cicero in the *Institutes* I: 1-5: A Case Study in Theological Method.' *ARG* 62: 5-37.
- _____. 1992. 'Calvin's Doctrine of Baptism.' In *Articles* 8: 222-41.
- Grogan, Geoffrey. 1997. 'Is the Bible Hermeneutically Self-Sufficient?' In Lane 1997: 205-21.
- Gros, Jeffrey, Meyer, Harding and Rusch, William, eds. 2000. *Growth in Agreement II: Reports and Agreed Statements of Ecumenical Conversations on a World Level, 1982-1998*. Geneva: WCC Publications; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Guarducci, Margherita. 1960. *The Tomb of St. Peter*. London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd.
- Gutwenger, Engelbert 1970. 'The Role of the Magisterium.' *Conc* 1: 43-112.
- Haaugaard, William P. 1979. 'Renaissance Patristic Scholarship and Theology in Sixteenth-Century England.' *SCJ* 10: 37-60.
- Hall, Basil. 1967. *John Calvin: Humanist and Theologian*. 2nd ed. Revised. London: London Historical Society.
- _____. 1971. 'The Colloquies between Catholics and Protestants, 1539-41.' In G. J. Cuming and Derek Baker 1971: 235-66.
- Hall, Louis Brewer. 1983. *The Perilous Vision of John Wyclif*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Hall, Noel. 1958. 'Apostolic Succession.' *SJT* 11:113-33.
- Hamm, Berndt. 1999. 'What was the Reformation Doctrine of Justification?' In Dixon 1999: 53-90.
- Hanson, R.P.C. 1959. 'The Church and Tradition in the Pre-Nicene Fathers.' *SJT* 12:20-31.
- Harbison, E. Harris. 1964a. *Christianity and History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- _____. 1964b. 'Calvin's Sense of History.' In Harbison 1964a: 270-88.

- Häring, Hermann. 1971. 'Can a Petrine Office be Meaningful in the Church? 5. An Attempt at a Catholic Answer.' *Conc* 4: 139-46.
- Harkianakis, Stylianos. 1971. 'Can a Petrine Office be Meaningful in the Church? 1. A Greek Orthodox Reply.' *Conc* 4: 115-26.
- Hasler, M. and Hasler, 1981. A. B. *How the Pope became Infallible. Pius IX and the Politics of Persuasion*. With an Introduction by Hans Küng (1979), Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.
- Hazlett, W. Ian P. 'Calvin's Latin Preface to His Proposed French Edition of Chrysostom's Homilies: Translation and Commentary.' In Kirk 1991: 129-50.
- _____. 'A Pilot-Study of Martin Bucer's Relations with France 1524-1548.' In Krieger and Lienhard 1993b: 513-21.
- Headley, John M. 1963. *Luther's View of Church History*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- _____. 1973. 'Luther and the Fifth Lateran Council.' *ARG* 64: 55-78.
- Headley, John M. 1987. 'The Reformation as Crisis in the Understanding of Tradition.' *ARG* 78: 5-23.
- Hebblethwaite, Peter. 2000. *The Next Pope: A Behind-the-Scenes Look at How the Successor to John Paul II Will be Elected and Where He Will Lead the Church*. Revised and updated by Margaret Hebblethwaite. London: Fount.
- Heft, James. 1982. 'John XXII and Papal Infallibility: Brian Tierney's Thesis Reconsidered.' *JES* 19: 759-80.
- Helleman, Adrian Arnold. 1992. 'John Calvin on Papal Primacy: His Critique of the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome in the Light of the Pre-Reformation Tradition and the Contemporary ecumenical Dialogues.' Ph.D. diss., Toronto School of Theology.
- _____. 1994. 'The Nature of Calvin's Rejection of Papal Primacy.' *CTJ* 29: 432-50.
- Hendrix, Scot H. 1966. 'Nicholas of Cusa's Ecclesiology between Reform and Reformation.' In Christianon and Izbicki 1966: 107-34.
- _____. 1974. 'We Are All Hussites? Hus and Luther Revisited.' *ARG* 65: 134-61.
- _____. 1981. *Luther and the Papacy. Stages in a Reformation Conflict*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- _____. 1993. 'Deparentifying the Fathers: The Reformers and Patristic Authority.' In Grane and Schindler and Wriedt 1993: 55-68.
- Henry, Paul. 1989. *The Life and Times of John Calvin, the Great Reformer*. Translated from the German by Henry Stebbing. 2 Vols. London: Whittaker and Co.
- Herman, Arthur L. 1990. 'Protestant Churches in a Catholic Kingdom: Political Assemblies in the Thought of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay.' *SCJ* 21: 543-57.
- Herrin, Judith. 1987. *The Formation of Christendom*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hess, Hamilton. 1958. *The Canons of the Council of Sardica A. D. 343: A Landmark in the Early Development of Canon Law*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hesselink, I. John. 1965. 'The Development and Purpose of Calvin's *Institutes*' In *RTR* 24: 65-72.

- _____. 1990. 'Calvinus Oecumenicus: Calvin's Vision of the Unity and Catholicity of the Church.' *RRev* 44: 97-122.
- _____. 1992. 'The Catholic Character of Calvin's Life and Work.' *Articles* 1: 13-9.
- _____. 1997. *Calvin's First Catechism: A Commentary, Featuring Ford Lewis Battle of the 1538 Catechism*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Higman, Francis M. 1967. *The Style of John Calvin in His French Polemical Treatise*. London: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1970. *Three French Treatises*. By Jean Calvin. London: The Athlone Press.
- _____. 1979. *Censorship and the Sorbonne: A Bibliographical Study of Books in French Censured by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520-1551*. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance. No. 172. Geneva: Droz.
- _____. 1984. 'The Question of Nicodemism.' In Neuser 1984: 165-70.
- _____. 1988a. 'La Dispute de Lausanne, carrefour de la Réformation française.' In Eric Junod 1988a: 23-5.
- _____. 1988b. 'Un Scénario pour la Dispute de Lausanne: De la tressainte Cene de nostre Seigneur Jesus: et de la Messe qu'on chante communement.' In Eric Junod 1988a: 115-22.
- _____. 1991. 'Linearity in Calvin's Thought.' *CTJ* 26: 100-10.
- _____. 1992. 'The Question of Nicodemism.' In *Articles* 5: 313-18.
- _____. 1994. 'Calvin's Works in Translation.' In Pettegree and Duke 1994: 82-99.
- _____. 1997. 'I came not to Sent Peace, but a Sword.' In Neuser and Armstrong 1997: 123-35.
- Holland, Timothy Joseph. 1963. 'The Holy See and Pope St. Gregory the Great: 1903-1958.' S.T.D. diss., The Catholic University of America.
- Hoogstra, Jacob T. 1959. *John Calvin: Contemporary Prophet. A Symposium*. Grand Rapids: Baker.
- Höpfl, Harro. 1985. *The Christian Polity of John Calvin*. New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Hudon, William V. 1992. *Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Hudson, Anne. 1988. *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hunter, A. Mitchell. 1992. 'The Education of Calvin.' In *Articles* 2: 58-72.
- Hus, Jan. 1956. *Tractatus de Ecclesia*. Ed. H. S. Thomas. Cambridge: University of Colorado Press.
- Huss, John. 1915. *The Church*. Trans., with notes and introduction by David S. Schaff. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Iserloh, Erwin. 1966. 'Luther in Contemporary Catholic Thought.' *Conc* 4: 4-9.
- Izbicki, Thomas M. 1986. 'Papalist Reaction to the Council of Constance: Juan de Torquemada to the Present.' *CH* 55:7-20.
- Jalland, Trevor. 1941. *The Life and Times of St. Leo the Great*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: The Macmillan Company.

- _____. 1944. *The Church and the Papacy: A Historical Study*. London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- James, A. W. 1938. 'The Growth of the Papacy.' In Mackenzie: 85-108.
- Javierre, Antonio. 1968. 'Notes on the Traditional Teaching on Apostolic Succession.' *Conc* 4: 10-15.
- Jedin, Hubert. 1947. *Papal Legate at the Council of Trent*. Trans. Frederic C. Eckhoff. London: Herder.
- _____. 1957. *A History of the Council of Trent*. Vol.1. *The struggle for the Council*. London : T. Nelson.
- _____. 1961. *A History of the Council of Trent*. Vol.2. *The first sessions at Trent, 1545-47*. London : T. Nelson.
- _____. 1967. *Crisis and Closure of the Council of Trent: A Retrospective View from the Second Vatican Council*. Trans. N. D. Smith. London & Melbourne: Sheed and Ward.
- John Calvin's Institutes: his opus magnum*. 1986. Proceedings of the Second South African Congress for Calvin Research July 31 - August 3, 1984. Potchefstroom, Transvaal, R.S.A. : Potchefstroom Univ. for Christian Higher Education.
- Jones, David Albert. 1999. 'Was there a Bishop of Rome in the First Century?' *NB* 80: 128-43.
- Jones, Serene. 1995. *Calvin and the Rhetoric of Piety* Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Joseph N. Tylanda, 1992. 'Calvin and the Avignon Sermons of John XXII.' *Articles* 5: 145-60.
- Judge, E. A. and Thomas, G. S. R. 1966. 'The Origin of the Church at Rome: A new Solution?' *RTR* 25: 81-94.
- Junod, Eric, ed. 1988a. *La dispute de Lausanne (1536): La Théologie réformée après zwingli et avant Calvin*. Lausanne: Presses Centrales.
- _____. 1988b. 'De la conquête du Pays de Vaud à la Dispute de Lausanne.' In Eric Junod 1988a: 13-22. Lausanne: Presses Centrales.
- Karrer, Otto. 1970. *Peter and the Church: An Examination of Cullmann's Thesis*. New York: Herder and Herder.
- Kasper, Walter, Küng, Hans and Remmers, Johannes. 1970. 'The Extent of Convergence.' *Conc* 4: 93-95.
- Kasper, Walter. 1965. 'The Dialogue with Protestant Theology.' *Conc* 4: 76-87.
- Keen, Ralph, trans. 1988. *Philip Melancthon: A Melancthon Reader*. New York/ Bern/ Frankfurt am Main/ Paris: Peter Lang.
- _____. 1996. 'Political Authority and Ecclesiology in Melancthon's "De Ecclesiae Autoritate."' *CH* 65: 1-14.
- Kempff, Dion. 1975. *A bibliography of Calviniana 1959-1974*. Leiden : Brill.
- Kenny, Anthony, ed. 1986a. *Wyclif in His Times*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- _____. 1986b. 'The Accursed Memory: The Counter-Reformation of John Wyclif.' In Kenny 1986a: 147-68.
- _____. 2000. *A Brief History of Western Philosophy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Kidd, B. J. 1936. *The Roman Primacy to A. D. 461*. London: SPCK.

- Kimble, G. H. T. 1938. *Geography in the Middle Ages*. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.
- Kingdon, Robert M. 1964. 'Some French Reactions to the Council of Trent.' *CH* 33: 149-56.
- _____, ed. 1974. *Transition and Revolution: Problems and Issues of European and Reformation History*. Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Co.
- Kirk, James, ed. 1991. *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400-1643. Essays in Honour of James K. Cameron*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kittel, G. and Friedrich, G., ed. 1968. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Vol. 6. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans..
- Kleinhans, Robert G. 1970. 'Luther and Erasmus, Another Perspective.' *CH* 39: 459-69.
- Klug, Eugene F. 1988. 'Reflections on the Lutheran-Catholic Dialogue Today.' *CTQ* 52: 81-97.
- Knight, George A. F. 1960. 'Thou Art Peter,' *ThT* 17: 168-80.
- _____. 1973. 'Antichrist.' *RTR* 32: 1-9.
- Köstlin, Julius. 1868. 'Calvin's Institutio nach Form und Inhalt, in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung.' *TSK* 41: 7-62, 410-86.
- Koulomzine, Nicolas. 1963. 'Peter's Place in the Early Church.' In Afanassieff, Koulomzine, Meyendorff and Schmemmann 1963: 111-34.
- Kretschmar, Georg. 1984. 'The Imperial Diet of Regensburg 1541 and the Confessio Variata of 1542.' Trans. Mark Appold. In Lindberg 1984: 85-102.
- Kretz, Gerhard. 1962. 'Calvins Auseinandersetzung mit der Katholischen Kirchen.' PhD. Thesis, Heideberg.
- Krieger, Christian and Lienhard, Marc. 1993a. *Martin Bucer and Sixteenth Century Europe: Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 28-31 août 1991*. Vol. 1. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought. Vols.52. Leiden, New York. Köln: Brill.
- _____. 1993b. *Martin Bucer and Sixteenth Century Europe: Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 28-31 août 1991*. Vol. 2. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought. Vols.53. Leiden, New York. Köln: Brill.
- Kromminga, John H. 1992. 'Calvin and Ecumenicity.' In *Articles* 10: 37-53.
- Küng, Hans. 1963. *The Living Church: Reflections on the Second Vatican Council*. Trans. C. Hastings and M. D. Smith. London.
- _____. 1968. 'What is the Essence of Apostolic Succession.' *Conc* 4: 16-19.
- _____. 1973. 'A Short Balance-Sheet of the Debate on Infallibility.' *Conc* 3: 129-36.
- _____. 1994. *Infallibility? An Unresolved Enquiry*. New Expanded Edition with a Preface by Herbert Haag. London: SCM.
- _____. 1995. *Christianity: The Religious Situation of Our Time*. Trans. John Bowden London: SCM.
- Küng, Hans, Kasper, Walter and Remmers, Johannes. 1970. '4. The Extent of Convergence.' *Conc* 4: 54-57.
- L'Huillier, Peter. 1995. *The Church of the Ancient Councils. The Disciplinary Work of the First Four Ecumenical Councils*. Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.

- Lamping, A. J. 1976. *Ulrichus Velenus (Oldřich Velenský) and his Treatise against the Papacy*. Leiden: Brill.
- Lane, Anthony. N. S. 1979. 'Calvin's Doctrine of Assurance.' *VE* 11: 32-54.
- _____. 1981a. 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Medievals.' *CTJ* 16: 149-205.
- _____. 1981b. 'Did Calvin Believe in Freewill?' *VE* 12: 72-90.
- _____. 1984. *Harper's Concise Book of Christian Faith*. Cambridge, Hagerstown, New York, Philadelphia, London, Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Sydney: Harper & Row.
- _____. 1998. 'Bondage and Liberation in Calvin's Treatise against Pighius.' *Calvin Studies* IX: 16-45.
- _____. 1991. 'Recent Calvin Literature: A Review Article.' *Them* 16: 7-24.
- _____. 1992. 'The City of God: Church and States in Geneva.' In *Articles* 10: 140-53.
- _____. 1993. 'Justification in Sixteenth-Century Patristic Anthologies.' In Grane, Schindler and Wriedt 1993: 69-95.
- _____. 1994. 'Sola Scriptura? Making Sense of a Post-Reformation Slogan.' In Satterthwaite and Wright 1994: 297-327.
- _____. 1996. *Calvin and Bernard of Clairvaux*. Studies in Reformed Theology and History. Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary.
- _____, ed. 1997. *Interpreting the Bible. Historical & Theological Studies in Honour of David F. Wright*. Leicester: Apollos.
- _____. 1999. *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- _____. 2002. *Justification by Faith in Catholic-Protestant Dialogue: An Evangelical Assessment*. Edinburgh/New York: T&T Clark.
- Lang, A. 1936. 'The Sources of Calvin's Institutes of 1536.' *EQ* 8: 130-41.
- Lanne, Emmanuel. 1971. 'The Papacy and the Reformation. I. To what Extent is Roman Primacy unacceptable to the Eastern Churches?' *Conc* 4: 62-67.
- Lapham, F. 2003. *Peter: The Myth, the Man and the Writings. A Study of Early Petrine Text and Tradition*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 239. London: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd.
- Lau, Franz and Bizer, Ernst. 1969. *A History of the Reformation in Germany to 1555*. Trans. Brian A. Hardy. London: Adam & Charles Black.
- Laurentin, René. 1973. 'IV. Peter as the Foundation stone in the Present Uncertainty.' *Conc* 3: 95-113.
- Lausberg, Heinrich. 1998. *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric : A Foundation for Literary Study*. Foreword by George A. Kennedy; Trans. Matthew T. Bliss Annemiek Jansen, David E. Orton; Ed. David E. Orton & Dean Anderson. Leiden: Brill.
- LaVallee, Armand Aime. 1967. 'Calvin's Criticism of Scholastic Theology.' PhD Thesis, Harvard University.
- Lecler, Joseph. 1960a. *Toleration and the Reformation*. Vol. 1. Trans. T. L. Westow. New York: Association Press; London: Longmans.
- _____. 1960b. *Toleration and the Reformation*. Vol. 2. Trans. T. L. Westow. New York: Association Press; London: Longmans.

- Leff, Gordon. 1967. 'The Apostolic Ideal in Later Medieval Ecclesiology.' *JTS* 18: 58-82.
- _____. 1986. 'Wyclif and Hus: a Doctrinal Comparison.' In Kenny 1986a: 105-25.
- Lehmann, Karl and Pannenberg, Wolfhart, ed. 1990. *The Condemnations of the Reformation Era: Do They Still Divide?* Trans. Margaret Kohl. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Lenz, Carolyn R. S. 1975. 'A Recently Discovered Manuscript Account of Luther's Last Prayer.' *ARG* 66: 79-92
- Leo I, Pope. 1957. *St. Leo the Great. Letters.* FCNT. Vol. 34. Trans. Edmund Hunt. New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc.
- _____. 1996. *St. Leo the Great. Sermons.* FCNT. Vol. 93. Translated by Jane Patricia Freeland, Agnes Josephine. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press.
- Leonardus Meulenberg, 1972. 'Gregory VII and the Bishops: Centralization of Power?' *Conc* 1: 65-78. London: Burns & Oates
- Levi, Anthony. 2002. *Renaissance and Reformation: The Intellectual Genesis.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Lewis, E.Ridley. 1942. 'Calvin and Tradition.' *Theo* 45: 220-22.
- Lewis, George, Trans. 1908. *Saint Bernard: On Consideration.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lienhard, Joseph T., S. J., 1984. *Message of the Fathers of the Church.* Vol. 8. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc.
- Lienhard, Marc. 1998. 'Les réformateurs protestants du XVI^e siècle et la papauté.' *Plu* 46: 157-73.
- Linberg, Carter. 1972. 'Prierias and his Significance for Luther's Development.' *SCJ* 3: 45-64.
- Lindbeck, George A. 1964. 'A Protestant View of the Ecclesiological Status of the Roman Catholic Church.' *JES* 1: 243-70.
- _____. 1976. 'Lutherans and the Papacy.' *JES* 13: 368-77.
- Lindberg, Carter. 1972. 'Prierias and his Significance for Luther's Development,' *SCJ* 3: 45-64.
- _____. ed. 1984. *Piety, Politics, and Ethics. Reformation. Studies in Honour of George Wolfgang Forell. Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies.* Vol. III. Kirksville: SCJ Publication.
- Littell, Franklin. 1972. 'What Calvin Learned at Strasbourg.' In *Articles* 2: 166-79.
- Little, Lester K. 1963. 'Calvin's Appreciation of Gregory the Great.' *HTR* 56: 145-57.
- Llewellyn, P. A. B. 1974. 'The Roman Church in the Seventh Century: the Legacy of Gregory I.' *JEH* 25: 363-80.
- Lockwood, Dean P. and Bainton, Roland H. 1941. 'Classical and Biblical Scholarship in the Age of the Renaissance and Reformation.' *CH* 10: 125-43.
- Logan, Donald F. 2002. *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages.* London & New York: Routledge.
- Logan, O.M.T. 1969. 'Grace and Justification: Some Italian Views of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries.' *JEH* 20: 67-78.

- Lohff, Wenzel. 1971. 'The Papacy and the Reformation. 2. Would the Pope still have been the Antichrist for Luther today?' *Conc* 4: 68-74.
- Lohse, Bernhard. 1999. *Martin Luther's Theology: Its Historical and Systematic Development*. Trans. & Ed. Roy A. Harrisville. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Lohse, D. Eduard. 1991. 'St. Peter's Apostleship in the Judgment of St. Paul, the Apostle to the Gentile: An Exegetical Contribution to an Ecumenical Debate.' *Gre* 72: 419-35.
- Lortz, Joseph. 1968. *The Reformation in Germany*. 2 Vols. Trans. Ronald Walls. London: Darton, Longman and Todd.
- Luther, Martin. 1995. 'The Schmalkald Articles.' Translated and edited by William R. Russell. In Russell 1995: 117-52.
- 'Lutheran-Roman Catholic Dialogue. Teaching Authority and Infallibility in the Church. Common Statement.' 1979. *ThS* 40: 113-66.
- Lynch, John E. 1971. 'Advantages and Drawbacks of a Centre of Communications in the Church.' *Conc* 4: 95-114.
- Lytle, Guy Fitch, ed. 1981. *Reform and Authority in the Medieval and Reformation Church*. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press.
- Maag, Karin, ed. 1999. *Melanchthon in Europe: His Work and Influence beyond Wittenberg*. Text and Studies in Reformation and Post-Reformation Thought. Grand Rapids: Baker.
- Mackensen, Heinz. 1959. 'Debate between Eck and Melanchthon on Original Sin at the Colloque of Worms.' *LQ* 11: 42-56.
- Mackenzie, Kenneth, ed. 1938. *Union of Christendom*. Vol. 1. London: Religious Book Club.
- Mackenzie, Ross. 1976. 'The Reformed Tradition and the Papacy.' *JES* 13: 359-67.
- MacMullen, Ramsay. 1966. 'Clement of Rome in Irenaeus's Succession-list.' *JTS* 17: 98-112.
- Macquarrie, John. 1970. 'What Still Separates us from the Catholic Church? 3. An Anglican Reply.' *Conc* 4: 45-53.
- Macy, Gary. 1994. 'The Dogma of Transubstantiation in the Middle Ages.' *JEH* 45: 11-41.
- Mann, Horace K. 1925-1932. *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*. 18 vols. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- Markus, R. A. 1983a. *From Augustine to Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in late antiquity*. London: Variorum Reprints.
- _____. 1983b. 'Papal Primacy: Light from the Early Middle Ages.' Chap. in *From Augustine to Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in late antiquity*. London: Variorum Reprints.
- _____. 1983c. 'Papacy and Hierarchy.' Chap. in *From Augustine to Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in late antiquity*. London: Variorum Reprints.
- Marot, Hilaire. 1965. 'The Primacy and the Decentralization of the Early Church.' *Conc* 7: 9-16.
- Marsiglio of Padua. 1993. *Defensor minor and De translatione Imperii*. Ed. Cary Nederman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martín, Isidoro. 1970. 'The Church's Relations with Foreign Governments.' *Conc* 8: 94-103.

- Maschke, Timothy and Posset, Franz and Skocir, Joan, ed. 2001. *Ad Fontes Lutheri: Toward the Recovery of the Real Luther: Essays in Honor of Kenneth Hagen's Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press.
- Matheson, Peter. 1972. *Cardinal Contarini at Regensburg*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- _____. 1989. 'Martyrdom or Mission? A Protestant Debate.' *ARG* 80: 154-72.
- _____. 1993. 'Humanism and Reform Movements.' In Goodman and Mackay 1993: 23-42.
- _____. 1994. 'Martin Bucer and the Old Church.' In Wright 1994a: 5-16.
- _____. 1998. *The Rhetoric of the Reformation*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- _____. 2000. *The Imaginative World of the Reformation*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Maurer Wilhelm. 1962. 'Confessio Augustana Variata.' *ARG* 53: 97-151.
- _____. 1986. *Historical Commentary on the Augsburg Confession*. Trans. H. Georg Anderson Philadelphia.
- McCue, James F. 1968. 'The Doctrine of Transubstantiation from Berengar through the Council of Trent.' *HTR* 61: 385-430.
- _____. 1971. 'Roman Primacy in the First Three Centuries.' *Conc* 4:36-44.
- McDonnell, Kilian. 1967a. *John Calvin, the Church, and the Eucharist* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- _____. 1967b. 'Calvin Accuses Rome.' Chap. in McDonnell 1967a.
- _____. 1967c. 'The Ecclesiology of John Calvin and Vatican II.' *RL* 36: 542-56.
- _____. 1969. 'Calvin's Conception of the Liturgy and the Future of the Roman Catholic Liturgy.' *Conc* 2: 43-8.
- McEniery, Peter. 1974. 'Pope Gregory the Great and Infallibility.' *JES* 11: 263-80.
- McGinn, Bernard. 1978. 'Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist.' *CH* 47: 155-73.
- _____. 1979. *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- _____. 2000. *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- McGrath, Alister E. 1986. 'John Calvin and Late Mediaeval Thought: A Study in Late Mediaeval Influences Upon Calvin's Theological Development.' *ARG*: 58-78.
- _____. 1990. *A Life of John Calvin*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- _____. 1993. *Reformation Thought: An Introduction*. 2nd Edition Oxford, UK & Cambridge, USA: Blackwell.
- McGrath, Patrick 1973. 'The Concept of Infallibility.' *Conc* 3: 65-76.
- McKee, Elsie Anne and Armstrong, Brian G., ed. 1989. *Probing the Reformed Tradition: Historical Studies in Honour of Edward A. Dowey, Jr.* McKee & Armstrong. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox.
- McKee, Elsie Anne. 1989. 'Exegesis, Theology, and Development in Calvin's *Institutio*: A Methodological Suggestion.' In McKee and Armstrong 1989: 154-72.
- McKim, Donald K. 'Recent Calvin Resources.' 2001. *RSR* 27: 140-46.
- McMakin, Jacqueline. 1976. 'Needed: An Ecumenism of Effort Toward Christian Unity.' *JES* 13: 99-102.

- McNally, Robert E. 1964. 'The Council of Trent and the German Protestants.' *ThS* 25: 1-22.
- McNally, Rober E. 1965. 'The Council of Trent, the Spiritual Exercises and the Catholic Reform.' *CH* 34: 36-49.
- McNeill, John T. 1942. 'The Church in Sixteenth-Century Reformed Theology.' *JR* 22:251-269.
- _____. 1943. 'the Doctrine of the Ministry in Reformed Theology.' *CH* 12: 77-97.
- _____. 1954. *The Hisory and Character of Calvinism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1992. 'Calvin and Episcopacy.' In *Articles* 10: 54-6.
- McSorley, Harry J. 1967. 'Luther, Trent, Vatican I and II.' *MQ* 21: 95-104.
- _____. 1969. *Luther: Right or Wrong? An Ecumenical-Theological Study of Luther's Major Work, The Bondage of the Will*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House.
- _____. 1970. 'Erasmus versus Luther—Compounding the Reformation Tragedy.' In Wicks 1970: 106-17.
- _____. 1971. 'Luther and Trent on the Faith needed for the Sacrament of Penance.' *Conc* 1: 89-97.
- _____. 1974. 'Some Forgotten Truths about the Petrine Ministry.' *JES* 11: 208-37.
- Meijering, E. F. 1983. *Melanchthon and Patristic Thought: The Doctrine of Christ and Grace, the Trinity and the Creation*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Melanchthon, Philip. 1959. 'Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope.' In Theodore Tappert 1959: 320-35.
- _____. 1965. *Melanchthon on Christian Doctrine: Loci Communes 1555*. Translated and edited by Clyde L. Manschreck. Introduction by Hans Engelland. New York: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1988. 'Thoughts on Interim.' In Keen 1988: 155-67.
- Merdinger, J. 1997. *Rome and the African Church in the Time of Augustine*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Metz, Johannes Baptist. 1970. 'Does our Church Need a New Reformation? 4. A Catholic Reply.' *Conc* 4: 81-91.
- Meuendprff. Kpjm. 1967. 'Notes on the Orthodox Understanding of the Eucharist.' *Conc* 4: 27-30.
- Meulenberg, Leonardus. 1972. 'Gregory VII and the Bishops: Centralization of Power?' *Conc* 1: 65-78. London: Burns & Oates.
- Meyendorff, John. 1962. *The Orthodox Church : Its Past and Its Role in the World Today*. London : Darton, Longman & Todd.
- _____. 1963. 'St. Peter in Byzantine Theology.' In Afanassieff, Koulomzine, Meyendorff and Schmemmann 1963: 7-29.
- _____. 1983a. *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*. Revised Second Edition. New York: Fordham University Press.
- _____. 1983b. *Catholicity and the Church*. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- _____. 1987. *Vision of Unity*. Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- _____. 1989. *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions. The Church 450-680 A. D.* Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.

- _____. 1996. *Rome, Constantinople, Moscow. Historical and Theological Studies*. Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- Meyer, Carl S. 1966. 'Melancthon, Theologian of Ecumenism' *JEH* 27: 185-207.
- Meyer, Harding and Vischer, Lukas, ed. 1984. *Growth in Agreement: Reports and Agreed Statements of Ecumenical Conversations on a World Level*. New York: Paulist Press; Geneva: WCC.
- Meyer, Judith P. 1993. 'The Success of the French Reformation: The Case of La Rochelle.' *ARG* 48: 242-75.
- Meyvaert, Paul. 1977a. 'Gregory the Great and the Theme of Authority.' Chap. in *Benedict, Gregory, Bede and others*. London: Variorum Reprints.
- _____. 1977b. 'Diversity within Unity: A Gregorian Theme.' Chap. in *Benedict, Gregory, Bede and others*. London: Variorum Reprints.
- Millet, Olivier. 1992. *Calvin et la dynamique de la parole : étude de rhétorique réformée*. Genève: Slatkine.
- _____, ed. 1998. *Calvin et ses contemporains. Actes du colloque de Paris 1995*. Genève: librairie Dros S. A.
- Milner, Benjamin Charles, Jr. 1970. *Calvin's Doctrine of the Church*. Leiden: Brill.
- Minnich, Nelson H. 1993. *The Catholic Reformation: Council, Church, Controversies*. Hampshire, Vermont: Variorum.
- Misner, Paul. 1973. 'Newman and the Tradition concerning the Papal Antichrist.' *CH* 42: 377-95.
- _____. 1974. 'Papal Primacy in a Pluriform Polity.' *JES* 11: 239-61.
- _____. 1976. *Papacy and Development: Newman and the Primacy of the Pope*. Leiden: Brill.
- Mitchell, Donovan F. 1944. 'The Reformed Doctrine of the Church.' *RTR* 3: 22-34.
- Moehn, Wilhelmus H. Th. 2001. "God calls us to His Service": the Relation between God and His Audience in Calvin's sermons on Acts. Geneve: Droz.
- Moeller, Bernd. 1987. 'Luther in Europe: His Works in Translation, 1517-46.' In Kouri and Scott 1987: 235-51.
- Mooi, R. J. 1965. *Het Kerk- en Dogmahistorisch Element in de Werken van Johannes Calvijn*. Wageningen: H. Veenman & Zonen N. V.
- Moorhead, John 1985. 'Papa as "bishop of Rome".' *JEH* 36: 337-50.
- Morris, Colin. 1991. *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050-1250*. Oxford History of the Christian Church. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Morrison, John D. 1992. 'John Calvin's Christological Assertion of Word Authority in the Context of Sixteenth Century Ecclesiological Polemics.' *SJT* 45: 465-86.
- Muller, Richard A. 1995. 'Calvin and the "Calvinists": Assessing Continuities and Discontinuities Between the Reformation and Orthodoxy. Part One.' *CTJ* 30: 345-75.
- _____. 1996. 'Calvin and the "Calvinists": Assessing Continuities and Discontinuities Between the Reformation and Orthodoxy. Part Two.' *CTJ* 31: 125-60.
- _____. 1998. 'Directions in Current Calvin Research.' In *Calvin Studies* IX: 70-87.
- _____. 1999. 'Ordo docendi: Melancthon and the Organization of Calvin's Institutes, 1536-1543.' In Karin Maag 1999: 123-40.

- _____. 2000. *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 2001. 'Directions in Current Calvin Research.' In *RSR* 27: 131-39.
- Naphy, William G. 1994. *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- _____. 1995. 'Calvin's Letters: Reflections on their Usefulness in Studying Genevan History.' *ARG* 86: 67-89.
- Nemilov, A. 1993. 'Une lettre de Martin Bucer à Veit Dietrich du 6 septembre 1541.' In Krieger and Lienhard 1993b: 571-6.
- Neuser, Wilhelm. H. 1969. 'Calvins Beitrag zu den Religionsgesprächen von Hagenau, Worms und Regensburg (1540/41).' In Abramowski & Goeters 1969: 213-37.
- _____. 1974. *Die Vorbereitung der Religionsgespräche von Worms und Regensburg 1540/41*. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag.
- _____, ed. 1978. *Calvinus Ecclesiae Doctor*. Die Referate des Congrès International de Recherches Calviniennes International Congress on Calvin Research Internationalen Kongresses für Calvinforschung vom 25. bis 28. September 1978 in Amsterdam Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J. H. Kok B. V..
- _____, ed. 1984. *Calvinus Ecclesiae Genevensis Custos*. Francfort/M.: Lang.
- _____. 1986. 'The Development of the *Institutes* 1536 to 1559.' In van der Walt 1986: 33-54.
- _____, ed. 1988. *Calvinus Servus Christi*. Budapest: Presseabteilung des Raday-Kollegiums.
- _____, ed. 1994. *Calvinus Sacrae Scripturae Professor*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- _____. 2001. 'The First Outline of Calvin's Theology—The Preface to the New Testament in the Olivétan Bible of 1535.' *Koers* 66: 1-38. [An English translation of the French Preface is included in *Koers* 66: 23-38.]
- Neuser, Wilhelm. H. and Armstrong, Brian G., ed. 1997. *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex: Calvin as Protector of the Purer Religion*. Kirksville: SCJ Publishers.
- Nichols, Aidan. 1992. *Rome and the Eastern Churches: A Study in Schism*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Niesel, W. 1961. *Calvin-Bibliographie, 1901-1959*. Munich: C. Kaiser.
- Nijenhuis, Willem. 1972a. 'Calvin's Attitude towards the Symbols of the Early Church during the Conflict with Caroli.' Chap. in *Ecclesia Reformata: Studies on the Reformation*, vol. 1, 73-96. Leiden: Brill.
- _____. 1972b. 'Calvin and the Augsburg Confession.' Chap. in *Ecclesia Reformata: Studies on the Reformation*, vol. 1, 97-114. Leiden: Brill.
- _____. 1994a. 'Calvin's "Subita Conversio": Notes on a Hypothesis.' Chap. in *Ecclesia Reformata, Studies on the Reformation*, vol. 2, 3-23. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.
- _____. 1994b. 'Church Unity in Luther and Calvin.' Chap. in *Ecclesia Reformata, Studies on the Reformation*, vol. 2, 24-47. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.

- _____. 1994c. 'Ecumenical Calvin: Calvin. Luther and Lutheranism.' Chap. in *Ecclesia Reformata, Studies on the Reformation*, vol. 2, 48-72. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.
- Nissiotis, N. A. 1966. 'Orthodox Reflections on the Decree on Ecumenism.' *JES* 3: 329-42.
- _____. 1970. 'What Still Separates us from the Catholic Church? 1. An Orthodox Reply.' *Conc* 4: 22-34.
- Norberg, Dag. 1982a. *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum epistularum libri I-VII*. In *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, CXL*. Turnholti : Brepols.
- _____. 1982b. *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum epistularum libri VIII-XIV, appendix*. In *Corpus christianorum, Series Latina, CXL A*. Turnholti : Brepols.
- Nugent, Donald. 1974. *Ecumenism in the Age of the Reformation: The Colloquy of Poissy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univesity Press.
- O'Connor, D. W. 1969. *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archaeological Evidence*. New York: Columbia University.
- O'Connor, Edward D. 1980. 'The Catholic Response to the Augsburg Confession.' *Communio* (US) 7: 178-86.
- O'Donnell, James. 1995. 'The Holiness of Gregory.' In Cavadini 1995: 62-81.
- O'Meara, Thomas F. 1970. 'Roman Catholicism: The Authority Crisis.' *MQ* 23: 168-180.
- Oakley, Francis 1977. 'Conciliarism in the Sixteenth Century: Jacques Almain Again.' *ARG* 68: 111-32.
- Oberman, Heiko A. 1993. *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*. Tran. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart. London: Fontana Press.
- _____. 1997. 'The Present Profile and Future Face of Reformation History: A Review Article.' *SCJ* 28: 163-71.
- Oberman, Heiko A., Zerk, Daniel E. and Courtenay, William, ed. & trans. 1968. *Defensorium obedientiae apostolicae et alia documenta*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Ocker, Christopher. 1991. 'Augustine, Episcopal Interests, and the Papacy in Late Roman Africa.' *JEH* 42: 179-201.
- O'Gara, Margaret. 1988. *Triumph in Defeat : Infallibility, Vatican I, and the French minority Bishops*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press.
- Olin, John C. 1969. *The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola. Reform in the Church 1495-1540*. New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row.
- O'Malley, John W. 1988. *Catholicism in Early Modern History, A Guide to Research*. Vol. 2. St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research.
- Ott, Heinrich. 1971. 'Can a Petrine Office be Meaningful in the Church? 4. A Protestant Reply.' *Conc* 4: 132-38.
- Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*. 1996. 4 Vols. Editor in chief Hans J. Hillerbrand. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Oxford Latin Dictionary*. 1976-82. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ozment, Steven. 1982. *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*. St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research.
- Paist, Benjamin F. 1922. 'Peter Martyr and the Colloquy of Poissy.' *PTR* 20: 212-31, 418-47, 616-46.

- Papadakis, Aristeides in collaboration with John Meyendorff. 1994. *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy. The Church 1071-1453*. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- Parker, T. H. L. 1947. *Oracles of God*. London & Redhill: Lutterworth Press.
- _____. 1965. 'Calvini Opera Sed Non Omnia.' *SJT* 18: 194-203.
- _____. 1975. *John Calvin: A Biography*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- _____. 1987. *John Calvin*. Tring, Herts: Lion Publishing plc.
- _____. 1992a. 'Calvin in His Age.' In *Articles* 1: 300-7.
- _____. 1992b. 'Calvin's Doctrine of Justification.' In *Articles* 8: 111-18.
- _____. 1995. *Calvin: An Introduction to His Thought*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox.
- Partee, Charles. 1997. 'Calvin's Polemic: Foundational Convictions in the Service of God's Truth.' In Neuser and Armstrong 1997: 97-122.
- Pascoe, Louis B. 1973. *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*. Leiden: Brill.
- Pastor, Ludwig. 1880. 'Die Correspondenz des Cardinals Contarini während seiner deutschen Legation (1541).' *HJG* 1: 321-92, 473-501.
- _____. 1901-1953. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources. 40 Vols. Trans. from the German; Ed. Frederick Ignatius Atrobus. Sixth edition. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- Patrides, C. A. and Wittreich, Joseph, ed. 1984. *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Pauck, Wilhelm. 1968. *The Heritage of the Reformation*. Revised and Enlarged Edition. London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1992. 'Calvin and Butzer.' In *Articles* 2: 37-57.
- Paul II, John. 1995. *Ut unum sint. Encyclical Letter of the Holy Father John Paul II on Commitment to Ecumenism*. London: Catholic Truth Society.
- Payton, James R. 1987. 'History as a Rhetorical Weapon.' In Furcha 1987: 208-44.
- _____. 1993. 'Calvin and the Legitimation of Icons: His treatment of the Seventh Ecumenical Council.' *ARG* 84: 222-41.
- _____. 1997. 'Calvin and the Libri Carolini.' *SCJ* 28: 467-80.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. 1959. *The Riddle of Roman Catholicism*. New York: Abingdon Press.
- _____. 1978. *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine. Vol. 3. The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- _____. 1984. 'Some Use of Apocalypse in the Magisterial Reformers.' In Patrides and Wittreich 1984: 74-92.
- _____. 2001. *Divine Rhetoric: The Sermon on the Mount as Message and as Model in Augustine, Chrysostom, and Luther*. New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- Percival, Henry R., ed. 1900. *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church: Their Canons and Dogmatic Decrees, Together with the Canons of All the Local Synods Which Have Received Ecumenical Acceptance*. NPNF. Second Series. Vol. XIV. Oxford: James Parker and Company; New York: The Christian Literature Company.

- Pesch, Rudolf. 1971. 'The Position and Significance of Peter in the Church of the New Testament. A Survey of Current Research.' *Conc* 4: 21-35.
- Peter, G. F. 1963. 'The Ministry in the Early Church as Seen by Calvin.' *EQ* 35: 68-78, 133-43.
- Peter, J. F. 1965. 'The Place of Tradition in Reformed Theology.' *SJT* 18: 294-307.
- Peter, Rodolphe and Gilmont, Jean-François. 1991-1994. *Bibliotheca Calviniana. Les oeuvres de Jean Calvin publiées au xvie siècle: Écrits théologiques, littéraires et juridiques*. 2 Vols. 1532-1564. Geneva: Droz.
- Pettegree, Andrew, ed. 2002a. *The Reformation World*. London & New York: Routledge.
- _____. 2002b. 'Books, Pamphlets and Polemic.' In Pettegree 2002a: 109-26.
- Pettegree, Andrew, Duke, Alastair and Lewis, Gillian, ed. 1994. *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pfeilschifter, Georg, ed. 1974. *Acta Reformationis Catholicae. Ecclesiam Germaniae Concernentia Saeculi XVI. Die Reformverhandlungen des Deutschen Episkopats von 1520 bis 1570*. Band VI, 1538 bis 1548. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet.
- Pirie, Valérie. 1935. *The Triple Crown: An Account of the Papal Conclaves from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd.
- Pitkin, Barbara. 1994. 'What Pure Eyes Could See: Faith, Creation, and History in John Calvin's Theology.' Ph.D diss. The University of Chicago.
- Pitkin, Barbara. 1999. *What Pure Eyes Could See: Calvin's Doctrine of Faith in Its Exegetical Context*. Oxford Studies in Historical Theology. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pollard, A.W. and Redgrave, G.R. comps. 1976-1991. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*. 2d Edition, Revised & Enlarged Begun by W. A. Jackson & F. S. Ferguson, Completed by Katharine F. Pantzer. Published/Created: London: Bibliographical Society.
- Polman, Pontien. 1932. *L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVIe siècle*. Gembloux: J. Duculot.
- Posset, Franz. 2001. ' "Rock" and "Recognition": Martin Luther's Catholic Interpretation of "You are Peter and on this rock I will build my Church" (Matthew 16: 18) and the Friendly Criticism from the Point of View of the "Hebrew Truth" by his Confère, Caspar Amman, "Doctor of the Sacred Page".' In Maschke *et al*: 2001.
- Prust, Richard C. 1967. 'Was Calvin a Biblical Literalist?' *SJT* 20: 312-28.
- Quanbeck, Warren A. 1971. 'Roman Catholic and Lutheran Relationship.' In Vajta, 1971: 131-143.
- Quanbeck, Warren A. 1977. 'The Formula of Concord and Authority in the Church.' *SCJ* 8: 49-60.
- Rahner, Karl. 1965. 'Observations on Episcopacy in the Light of Vatican II.' *Conc* 3: 10-4.
- _____. 1979. 'Notes: Towards a Fundamental Theological Interpretation of Vatican II.' *ThS* 40: 716-27.
- Raiser, Konrad. 1991. *Ecumenism in Transition: A Paradigm Shift in the Ecumenical Movement?* Geneva: WCC Publications.

- Raitt, Jill. 1980. 'Calvin's Use of Bernard of Clairvaux.' *ARG* 71: 98-120.
- _____. 1985. 'From Augsburg to Trent.' In Anderson, Murphy and Burgess 1985: 200-17.
- _____. 1992. 'Three Inter-related Principles in Calvin's Unique Doctrine of Infant Baptism.' In *Articles* 8: 243-53.
- Ranke, Leopold. 1889-1991. *The History of the Popes*. 3 Vols. London: George Bell.
- Regards Contemporains sur Jean Calvin. Actes du colloque Calvin, Strasbourg 1964*. 1965. Paris: Press universitaires de France.
- Rehm, Bernhard, ed. 1969. *Die Pseudoklementinen I. Homilien*. Göttingen: Akademie Verlag.
- Reid, W. S. 1966. *The Present Significance of Calvin's View of Tradition*. Redhill/Surrey: Sovereign Grace Union.
- _____. 1973. 'The Coming of the Reformation to Edinburgh.' *CH* 42: 27-44.
- _____. 1992a. 'John Calvin, Lawyer and Legal Reformer.' In *Articles* 8: 57-72.
- _____. 1992b. 'Justification by Faith According to John Calvin.' In *Articles* 8: 204-21.
- Reinhard, Wolfgang. 1989. 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early-Modern State: A Reassessment.' *CHR* 75: 383-404.
- Remmers, Johannes. 1968. 'Apostolic Succession: an Attribute of the Whole Church.' *Conc* 4: 20-27.
- Reu, M. 1930. *The Augsburg Confession: A Collection of Sources with an Historical Introduction*. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House.
- Reusch, Franz. H. 1983-85. *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*. 2 Vols. Bonn: M. Cohen & Sohn.
- Revised Medieval Latin Word-List From British and Irish Sources With Supplement*. 1999. Prepared by R. E. Latham under the Direction of a Committee Appointed by the British Academy. London: Oxford University Press.
- Rex, Richard. 'Humanism.' In Pettegree 2002a: 51-72.
- Rhee, Hyung-Ki. 1999. 'A Study on John Calvin's View of the Church Office in the Light of the Ecumenical Movement.' *C&Th* 38: 36-54.
- Richards, Jeffrey. 1980. *Consul of God: The Life and Times of Gregory the Great*. London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Richgels, Robert W. 1975. 'Scholasticism Meets Humanism in the Counter-Reformation: The Clash of Cultures in Robert Bellarmine's Use of Calvin in the Controversies.' *SCJ* 6:53-66.
- Richgels, Robert W. 1980. 'The Pattern of Controversy In a Counter-Reformation Classic: the Controversies of Robert Bellarmine.' *SCJ* 11: 3-15.
- Riedmatten, Henri de 1970. 'The Part Played by the Holy See in International Organizations.' *Conc* 8: 74-93.
- Rigaux, Béda. 1968. 'The Twelve Apostles.' *Conc* 4: 4-9.
- Riggs, John W. 1995. 'Emerging Ecclesiology in Calvin's Baptismal Thought, 1536-1543' *CH* 64: 29-43.
- Robinson, Andrew. 1992. 'Identifying the Beast: Samuel Horsley and the Problem of Papal AntiChrist.' *JEH* 43: 592-607.
- Robinson, Jack Hughes 1989. 'John Calvin and the Jews.' Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University.

- Rodriguez-Salgado, Maria. 1988. *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Hapsburg Authority, 1551-1559*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rogness, Michael. 1969. *Philip Melanchthon, Reformer Without Honor*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House.
- Roos, Keith L. 1972. *The Devil in 16th Century German Literature: The Teufelbücher*. Bern: Herbert Lang; Frankfurt/ M.: Peter Lang.
- Rouse, Ruth and Neill, Stephen Charles. 1986. *A History of the ecumenical movement*. 3rd ed. Geneva : World Council of Churches.
- Roux, Hébert. 1970. 'Does Our Church Need a New Reformation? 2. A Protestant Reply.' *Conc* 4: 64-70.
- Rummel, Erika. 1995. *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation*. London and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Runia, K. 1965. 'The Papal Claim of Petrine Succession.' *RTR* Vol 24 No1: 13-22.
- Rupp, Gordon. 1963. *The Righteousness of God*. Luther Studies. The Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History Delivered in the University of Cambridge, 1947. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- _____. 1983. 'Luther Against "The Turk, The Pope, And The Devil".' In Brooks 1983: 256-73.
- Russell, William R. 1995. *Luther's Theological Testament: The Schmalkald Articles*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Ryan, John J. 1979. *The Nature, Structure and Function of the Church in William of Ockham*. Missoula: Schola Press.
- Salley, Louise L. 1992. 'A French Humanist's Chef-d'Oeuvre: The Commentaries on Seneca's "De Clementia" by John Calvin.' In *Articles* 2: 73-86.
- Santmire, H. Paul. 1964. 'Justification in Calvin's 1540 Romans Commentary.' *CH* 33: 294-313.
- Sasse, Hermann. 1961. 'The Second Vatican Council.' *RTR* 20: 33-41.
- _____. 1964. 'The Ecumenical Movement in the Roman Catholic Church.' *RTR* Vol 23: 1-15.
- _____. 1966. 'After the Council.' *RTR* 25: 1-14.
- _____. 1970. 'Thoughts on the Centenary of the First Vatican Council.' *RTR* 29: 37-45.
- Satterthwaite, P. E. and Wright, D. F., ed. 1994. *A Pathway into the Holy Scripture*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Schaff, Philip & Wace, Henry. 1895. *Leo the Great, Gregory the Great*. NPNF. 2nd series, vol. 12. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1969. [= *Leo the Great, Gregory the Great*. NPNF. 2nd series, vol. 12. Oxford : J. Parker, 1895.]
- Schatz, Klaus. 1996. *Papal Primacy from Its Origins to the Present*. Translated from German by John A. Otto and Linda M. Maloney. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press.
- Scheible, Von Heinz. 1974. 'Reform, Reformation, Revolution.' *ARG* 65: 108-34.
- Schillebeeckx, Edward. 1965a. 'Chronicle of the Living Church. The Tridentine Decree on Justification.' *Conc* 5: 92-3.
- _____. 1965b. 'The Tridentine Decree on Justification: A New View.' *Conc* 5: 92-3.

- _____. 1973. 'III. The Problem of the Infallibility of the Church's Office. A Theological Reflection.' *Conc* 3: 77-94.
- Schmemmann, Alexander. 1963. 'The Idea of Primacy in Orthodox Ecclesiology.' In Afanassieff, Koulomzine, Meyendorff and Schmemmann 1963: 30-56.
- Schnucker, Robert V. 1988. *Calviniana: Ideas and Influence of Jean Calvin*. Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies. Vol. 10. Kirksville: SCJ Publishers, Inc.
- Schoeck, Richard J. 1981. 'The Fifth Lateran Council: Its Partial Successes and Its Larger Failures.' In Lytle 1981: 99-126.
- Scholl, H. 1974. *Calvinus Catholicus. Die Katholische Calvinforschung im 20 Jahrhundert*. Freiburg.
- Schoonenberg, Piet. 1967. 'Transubstantiation: How far is this Doctrine Historically Determined?' *Conc* 4: 41-47.
- Schuessler, Hermann. 1981. 'Sacred Doctrine and the Authority of Scripture in Canonistic Thought on the Eve of the Reformation.' In Lytle 1981: 55-68.
- Schulze, L. F. 1971. *Calvin's Reply to Pighius*. Potchefstroom: Pro Rege.
- _____. 1984. 'Calvin's Reply to Pighius-A Micro and Macro View.' In Neuser 1984: 171-85.
- Schutte, Anne Jacobson. 1977. *Pier Paolo Vergerio: The Making of An Italian Reformer*. Genève: Droz.
- Schützeichel, von Heribert. 1971. *Die Glaubenstheologie Calvins*. Munich: Max Hueber.
- _____. 1987. 'Calvins Kritik der biblischen Begründung des Papstamtes.' *Cat* 44: 42-63.
- _____. 1988. 'Elemente der Amtstheologie Calvins.' In *Katholische Beiträge zur Calvinforschung*, 45-9. Trierer Theologische Studien. Bd. 42. Trier.
- _____. 1989. 'Das altkirchliche Papsttum in der Sicht Calvins.' *Cat* 43: 31-53.
- Seitz, O. J. F. 1950. 'Upon This Rock: A Critical Re-examination of Matt. 16: 17-19.' *JBL* 69: 329-40.
- Selinger, Suzanne. 1984. *Calvin Against Himself: An Inquiry in Intellectual History*. Hamden, Conn.: Anchor Books.
- Sharkey, Neil. 1950. *Saint Gregory the Great's Concept of Papal Power*. Catholic University of America. Studies in Sacred Theology. Ser. 2. No. 35. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- Skydsgaard, Kristen 1970. 'What Still Separates us from the Catholic Church? 2. A Protestant Reply.' *Conc* 4: 35-44.
- Smith, M. 1960. 'The Report about Peter in 1 Clement V4.' *NTS* 7: 86-88.
- Smits, Luchesius. 1956-1958. *Saint Augustin dans l'œuvre de Jean Calvin. Vol. I, Étude de critique littéraire*. Assen: van Gorcum.
- Spalding, James C. 1984. 'Discipline as a mark of the True Church in its Sixteenth Century Lutheran Context.' In Lindberg 1984: 119-38.
- Spies, Roger. 1979. 'Calvin a-t-il quelque chose à nous dire aujourd'hui?' *RR* 30: 87-95.
- Spinks, Bryan D. 1995. 'Calvin's Baptismal Theology and the Making of the Strasbourg and Genevan Baptismal Liturgies 1540 and 1542.' *SCJ* 48: 55-78.

- Spitz, Lewis W. 1972. *The Reformation, Basic Interpretation*. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co.
- _____. 1993. 'Humanism in Germany.' In In Goodman and Mackay 1993: 202-19.
- Spurr, John. 1990 'Schism and the Restoration Church.' *JEH* Vol 41, No3: 408-24.
- Stadtward, Kurt Werner. 1991. ' "When O Rome Will You Cease to Hiss?" The Image of the Pope in the Politics of German Humanism.' Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota.
- Stauffer, Richard. 1968. 'Calvin, Advocate of Evangelical Catholicity.' Chap. in *The Quest for Church Unity: From John Calvin to Isaac d'Huisseau*. Allison Park: Pickwick Publications.
- _____. 1970. 'Calvin, pionnier de l'unité chrétienne.' *RR* 21: 1-17.
- _____. 1974. 'Calvin et le "De officio pii ac publicae tranquillitatis vere amantis viri."' In *Actes du Colloque l'Amiral de Coligny et son temps* (Paris, 24-28 octobre 1972): 135-53. Paris: Société de l'histoire du protestantisme Français.
- _____. 1986. *The Quest for Church Unity: From John Calvin to Isaac d'Huisseau*. Pittsburgh Theological Monograph. New Ser. 19. XYN-1. Allison Park, Pa.: Pickwick Publications.
- Steinmetz, David C. 1982. 'The Theology of Calvin and Calvinism.' In Ozment 1982: 211-32.
- _____. 1986. 'Luther and Calvin on Church and Tradition.' Chap. in *Luther in Context*. Bloomington: Indiana University.
- Stelten, Leo F. 1995. *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin*. Peabody: Hendrickson. [=DEL]
- Stupperich, Martin. 1973. 'Das Augsburger Interim als apokalyptisches Geschehnis nach den Königsberger Schriften Andreas Osianders.' *ARG* 64: 225-45.
- Stupperich, Robert. 1939. 'Der Ursprung des "Regensburger Buches" von 1541 und seine Rechtfertigungslehre.' *ARG* 36: 88-116.
- _____. 1952. 'Bibliographia Bucerana unter Mitwirkung von Erwin Steinborn zusammengestellt und bearbeitet.' In Bornkamm 1952: 37-96.
- Sullivan, Francis A. 2001. *From Apostles to Bishops: The Development of the Episcopacy in the Early Church*. New York: The Newman Press.
- Sutcliffe, Edmund F. 1948. 'The Council of Trent on the Authentica of the Vulgate.' *JTS* 49: 35-42.
- Swierenga, Robert P. 1966a. 'Calvin and the Council of Trent: A Reappraisal. Part I.' *RJ* (March): 35-37.
- _____. 1966b. 'Calvin and the Council of Trent: A Reappraisal. Part II.' *RJ* (April): 16-21.
- _____. 1966c. 'Calvin and the Council of Trent: A Reappraisal. Part III.' *RJ* (May-June): 20-23.
- Tappert, Theodore, trans. & ed. 1959. *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Tavard, George H. 1957. 'The Catholic Reform in the Sixteenth Century.' *CH* 26: 275-88.
- _____. 1976. 'The Papacy and Christian Symbolism.' *JES* 13: 345-57.
- _____. 2000. *The Starting Point of Calvin's Theology*. Grand Rapids/ Cambridge: Eerdmans.

- Tavuzzi, Michael. 1997. *Prierias: The Life and Works of Sivestro Mazzolini da Prierio, 1456-1527*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.
- The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*. 1978. Trans. H. J. Schroeder. Rockford: Tan Books & Publishers.
- The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 1996. Third Edition. Ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thomas, Ivor Bishton. 1966. 'John Calvin's Rejection of Roman Catholic Christianity.' ThD. Dissertation, Union Theological Seminary.
- Thompson, A. Hamilton. 1938. 'The Division between East and West.' In Mackenzie 1938: 109-32.
- Thompson, Beatrice Hamilton. 1938. 'The Ecclesiastical and Doctrinal Roots of the Reformation.' In Mackenzie 1938: 133-56.
- Tierney, Brian. 1972. *Origins of Papal Infallibility 1150-1350. A Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill.
- Tillard, J.M.R. 1979. 'The Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.' *ThS* 40: 3-22.
- Torrance, T. F. 1951. 'History and Reformation.' *SJT* 4: 279-91.
- _____. 1984. 'Ecumenism and Rome.' *SJT* 37: 59-64.
- _____. 1988. *The Hermeneutics of John Calvin*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- _____. 1993. *Royal Priesthood: A Theology of Ordained Ministry*, 2nd Edition. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Turretin, Francis. 1997. *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*. Vol. 3. Trans. George Musgrave Giger. Ed. James T. Dennison. Phillipsburg: P & R Publishing.
- Tylenda, Joseph N. 1992. 'Calvin's First Reformed Sermon? Nicholas Cop's Discourse—1 November 1533.' In *Articles* 2: 120-38.
- Ulianich, Boris. 1966. 'Recent Literature about the Second Vatican Council.' *Conc* 7: 56-62.
- Ullmann, Walter. 1948. *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History*. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd.
- _____. 1949. *Medieval Papalism: The Political Theories of the Medieval Canonists*. London: Methuen.
- _____. 1955. *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.
- _____. 1960a. 'Leo I and the theme of Papal Primacy.' *JTS* 11: 25-51.
- _____. 1960b. 'The Significance of the Epistola Clementis in the Pseudo-Clementines.' *JTS* 11: 295-317.
- _____. 1972. *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*. London: Methuen.
- Vajta, Vilmos, ed. 1971. *The Gospel and Unity*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House.
- van Asselt, Willem and Dekker, Eef. 2000. 'Scholasticism, Medieval.' *DHT* 509-11.
- van den Brink, J.A. B. 1961. 'Bible and Biblical Theology in the Early Reformation.' *SJT* 14: 337-52.
- van der Walt, B., ed. 1986. *John Calvin's Institutes: His Opus Magnum*. Potchefstroom: Institute for Reformational Studies.

- van Dülmen, Richard. 1999. 'The Reformation and the Modern Age.' In Dixon 1999: 193-220.
- van Oort, Johannes. 1997. 'John Calvin and the Church Fathers.' In Backus 1997b: 661-700.
- van't Spijker, Willem. 1986. 'The Influence of Bucer on Calvin as Becomes evident from the *Institutes*.' In van der Walt 1986: 106-132.
- _____, ed. 1991. *Calvin, Erbe und Auftrag. Festschrift für Wilhelm Heinrich Neuser*. Kampen: Kok Pharos.
- _____. 1993. 'The Kingdom of Christ According to Bucer and Calvin.' In Klerk 1993: 109-32.
- _____. 1994. 'Bucer's Influence on Calvin: Church and Community.' In Wright 1994a: 33-44.
- _____. 1996. *The Ecclesiastical Offices in the Thought of Martin Bucer*. Trans. John Vriend and Lyle D. Bierma. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill.
- Velenus, Ulrichus. 1520. *Petrum Romam non venisse*. In Lamping 1976: 219-76.
- Verghees, Paul. 1967. 'Authority in the Church: An Orthodox Perspective on the Reformation.' *MQ* 21: 136-50.
- Villain, Maurice. 1968. 'Can there be Apostolic Succession outside the Continuity of the Laying-on of Hands?' *Conc* 4: 45-53.
- _____. 1969. 'What Courageous Action can they take? A Catholic-Orthodox-Anglican-Protestant interchange. The Theologian—A Catholic View.' *Conc* 4: 46-67.
- von Campenhausen, Hans. 1997. *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the church of the First Three Centuries*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers.
- _____. 2000. *The Fathers of the Church*. Combined Edition of the Fathers of the Greek Church and The Fathers of the Latin Church Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc.
- Vries, Wilhelm De. 1965. 'The "College of Patriarchs".' *Conc* 8: 35-43.
- Walker, G. S. M. 1992. 'Calvin and the Church.' In *Articles* 10: 120-39.
- Wallace, Ronald S. 1988. *Calvin, Geneva and the Reformation*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- Walsh, Michael, ed. 1997. *The Papacy*. London: Phoenix Illustrated.
- Warfield, Benjamin B. 1909. *The Literary History of the Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.
- Wayne, Fort. 1998. 'Joint Lutheran/Roman Catholic Declaration on Justification: A Response.' *CTQ* 62: 83-106.
- Weigel, George. 1999. *Witness to Hope. The Biography of Pope John Paul II*. New York: Cliff Street Books.
- Weinrich, William C. 1991. 'Cyprian, Donatism, Augustine, and Augustana VIII: Remarks on the Church and the Validity of Sacraments.' *CTQ* 55: 267-96.
- Wendel, François. 1965. *Calvin: The Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*. London: Collins.
- Wengert, Timothy J. 1997. 'The Scope and Contents of Philip Melanchthon's Opera Omnia, Wittenberg, 1562-1564.' *ARG* 88: 57-76.
- Wevers, Richard F. John Calvin's Institutes 1539 Search Routines. Program Written and Designed by Richard F. Wevers. Grand Rapids: Calvin College.

- _____. John Calvin's Institutes 1559 Latin—English Combination Search Routines. Program Written and Designed by Richard F. Wevers. Grand Rapids: Calvin College.
- White, Robert. 1982. 'Fifteen Years of Calvin Studies in French (1965-1980).' *JRH* 12: 140-61.
- _____. 1997. 'Calvin, The Nicodemites and the Cost of Discipleship.' *RTR* 56: 14-27.
- Wicks, Jared, ed. 1970. *Catholic Scholars Dialogue with Luther*. Chicago: Loyola University Press.
- _____, trans. & ed. 1978. *Cajetans Responds: A Reader in Reformation Controversy*. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press.
- _____. 1992. *Luther's Reform. Studies on Conversion and the Church*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Wierenga, Robert P. 1966a. 'Calvin and the Council of Trent: A Reappraisal. Part I.' *RJ* (March): 35-7.
- _____. 1966b. 'Calvin and the Council of Trent: A Reappraisal. Part II.' *RJ* (April): 16-21.
- _____. 1966c. 'Calvin and the Council of Trent: A Reappraisal. Part III.' *RJ* (May-June): 20-3.
- Wilcox, Peter. 1994. ' "The Restoration of the Church" in Calvin's "Commentaries in Isaiah the Prophet." ' *ARG* 85: 68-95.
- _____. 1996. 'The Lectures of John Calvin and the Nature of his Audience, 1555-1564.' *ARG* 87: 136-48.
- Wiles, Maurice. 1963. 'The Theological Legacy of St. Cyprian.' *JEH* 14: 139-49.
- Williams, George Huntston. 1982. 'The Ecumenical Intentions of Pope John Paul II.' *HTR* 75: 141-176.
- Witt, Ronald G. 1995. 'The Humanist Movement.' In Brady, Oberman and Tracy 1995b: 93-126.
- Woolf, Bertram Lee, trans. & ed. 1952. *Reformation Writings of Martin Luther*. Translated with Introduction and Notes from the Definition Weimar Edition. London: Lutterworth Press.
- Wright, David F. 1967. 'Clement and the Roman Succession in Irenaeus.' *JTS* 18: 144-54.
- _____, trans. & ed. 1972a. *Common Places of Martin Bucer*. The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics 4. Appleford/ Berkshire: The Sutton Courtenay Press.
- _____. 1972b. 'Martin Bucer 1491-1551: Ecumenical Theologian.' In Wright 1972a: 15-74.
- _____. 1993. 'George Cassander and the Appeal to the Fathers in Sixteenth-Century Debates about Infant Baptism.' In Grane 1993: 259-69.
- _____, ed. 1994a. *Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1994b. 'Sixteenth-Century Reformed Perspectives on the Minority Church.' In Calvin Studies VII: 15-29.
- _____. 1998. 'Was John Calvin a "Rhetorical Theologian"?' *Calvin Studies IX*. Davidson: Davison College.
- _____. 1999. 'The Atonement in Reformation Theology.' *EuroJTh* 8: 137-48.

- _____. 'Why was Calvin So Severe a Critic of Nicodemism?' In *Papers of Seventh International Congress on Calvin Research*. Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Studies. [Forthcoming and in progress].
- Zachman, Randall C. 1998. 'Calvin as Analogical Theologian.' *SJT* 51:162-87.
- Ziegler, Donald J., ed. 1969. *Great Debates of the Reformation*. New York: Random House.
- Zillenbiller, Anette. 1993. *Die Einheit der Katholischen Kirche: Calvins Cyprianrezeption in seinen Ekklesiologischen Schriften*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- _____. 1997. 'Calvins Uminterpretation Cyprians bei der Beantwortung der Fragen: Auf wen ist die Kirche gegründet und Von wem wird der Bischof gewählt?' In Neuser and Armstrong 1997: 323-33.
- Zagorin, Perez. 1990. *Ways of Lying. Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.